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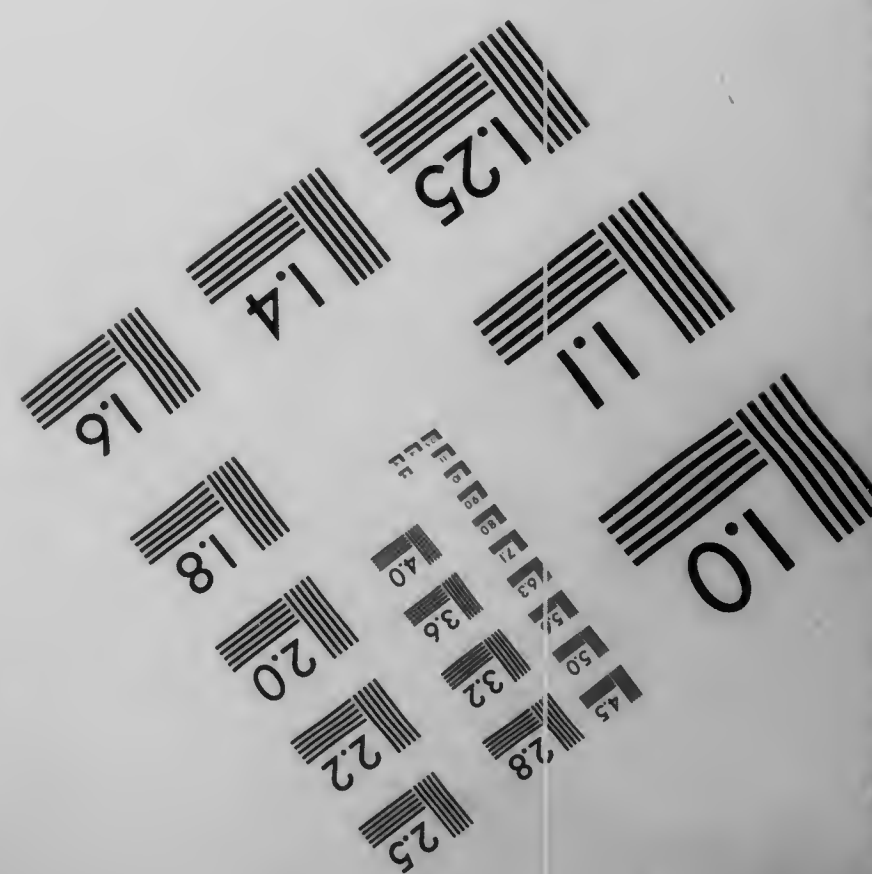
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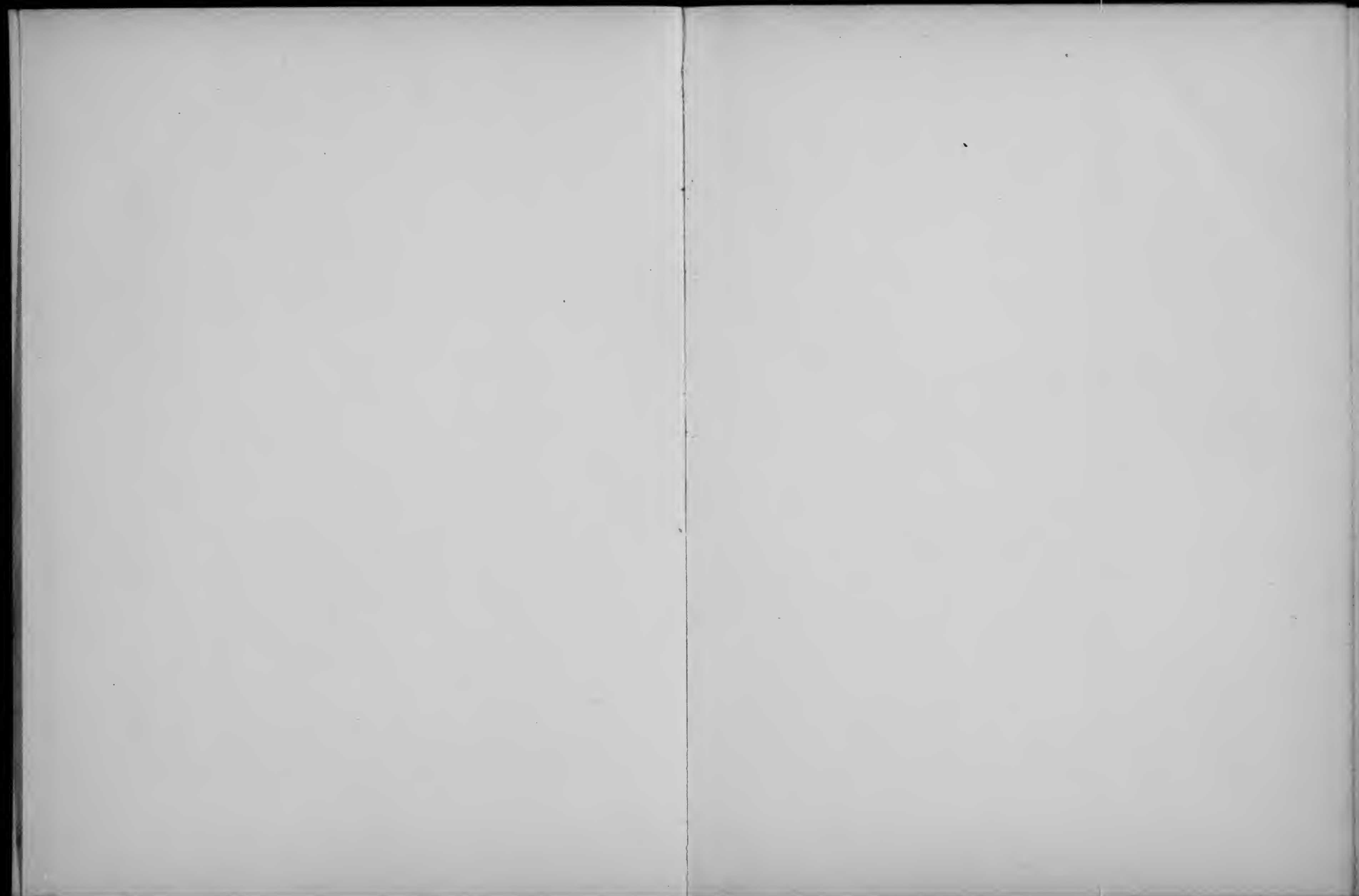
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APPLIED PHILOSOPHY

APPLIED PHILOSOPHY

BY

C. Y. C. DAWBARN, M.A.

THEORY, FUNCTION OF FACT—EINSTEIN ADAPTED.

The virtue of action, Timeliness—Lao Tzu.

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PREFACE.

IN the following pages it is no particular reform which I would advocate; rather I would inquire in what directions reform is to be sought. Mere change is very far from reform, and to quote a proverb of my youth—and, I am afraid, somewhat confirmed in my age—"An inch in the way is worth a mile in the clouds." So a top spinning may make a great hum without covering much ground.

Any inquiry such as the present suggests itself under the three heads: the psychical, the physical, and the ethical. The first is as yet mostly unknown country. The second is full of promise, whilst the last is suggestive of counsel. As to the first, we can do little more than consider the field and what is to be done in it. However, one of the happy results of the war is that we have now a band of scientific enthusiasts diligently exploring this unknown land. The second is full of promise, for let us chart the progress of physical science, and the same line will virtually chart the progress of civilization through the ages. Every advance in physical science seems to have found correspondence in progress in the physical, mental, and moral development of man. And as the past years have witnessed most amazing advance in such science, may we not reasonably read in it assurance of a similar advance in human life as well? In its broad features this hypothesis is reduceable to simple story. In Part

II. I have dealt with it in the reprint of several addresses which I have delivered from time to time. These somewhat overlap, and I had thought to rewrite them in more regular form. On reconsideration, this promised rather to lessen than increase their interest. Their very setting seemed to give them more point. War had been sprung upon us, and it was our one thought. As to the first, I had been booked to deliver the opening address to a local society early in October. Other prepared matter was obviously out of place, and considerations connected with the war were alone of interest in those days. Hence the survey. Happily, in my reading of my countrymen, I was altogether right. It was the German who made the error. The enrollment of our first million volunteers was the most glorious episode in history. It ranked with Marathon; it saved a world. As to the little brochure, "Does talk count?" it was written in somewhat angry mood. The conscientious objector, never at a loss for fine sentiments, outraged every principle we felt holiest and most precious in human nature. Thus possibly it is not altogether judicial, and should rather be read as a speech for the prosecution than as a summing up from the bench. Not that all objectors were to be lumped together, for undoubtedly there were some to whom it was terrible standing aside in their country's need. But it was the number of those who responded which was matter of surprise and rejoicing. It was the very idea that we were decadent that urged the German to his madness. It was the weakness of our talk that prompted his attempt. But it also was only talk. The last, "Whither?" tells its own tale, and needs no comment.

And what of the ethical in its action and reaction on life? This is the third heading of our inquiry. It is but a heading. So vast is it that any conclusion seems wholly impossible. And how limit our subject? Then it seemed we might simplify it if we were to regard man's ethical outlook as somewhat co-extensive with ideals found in his corresponding religions. This assumption made, and the Jews were clearly indicated as the people who in ancient times attained the then highwater mark in this respect. The old Jew was the great puritan of the past; of the morbid in religion he was the bitter enemy, and in his God of Righteousness was to be found the highest conception of the Deity that the world then knew. And in his story we read the great lesson of all time. Perhaps it has been the lesson taught by all peoples, but in him it was demonstrated with terrible and dramatic completeness. He went from strength to strength, until at the time of our Lord he was the proudest of the earth. The Greek was a decadent; the Persian in his glory had passed away; the native Egyptian was never a rival; the northern tribes were still barbarians; the easterns were but dreamers; and as a fierce and terrible fighter the Roman had at least to admit him as his equal. And, above all, his belief centred in the sanctity of his cradle. He led a straight life, and a cradle never empty found him the rich, respected, strong, and envied colonist in every part of the empire. And as he increased in influence, in might and in magnificence; as his great citizens were found high in office throughout its wide extent; as his great confederation was more and more a power to be reckoned with, so he increased in pride of heart, in disdain, and in con-

tempt for all of other blood. And he fell. And never such fall in man's story. Jerusalem destroyed was a world catastrophe. Others had succumbed in their weakness; he in his strength. Babylon was rotten when it became the prize of the Persian; the Persian was sapped in his vigour when he bowed to Alexander. But not so the Jew. And a world yelled with delight. And in his fall not one to pity him, not one to hold out the hand of fellowship. He was great in his wealth; he was great in his prowess; he was great in his intellectual attainments; he was great in his God, and he had bidden defiance to the empire itself, and his defiance had shaken it to its foundations, but all of no count in the balance-sheet of the Almighty, for he knew but self alone. Entirely self-centred, in this was his ruin absolute and complete. The world was as his servant, his slave, not even as his younger brother. And the world turned and rent him. And the moral of his fall? No man, or race, shall live for self alone, and not deplore it in the end.

And then Christ takes up the tale in man's evolution. What experience is to prove, His teaching is to enforce. And His reasoning? Because all are children of one Father—"the Father," whom He had "*come to show*." Many the controversy over dogma, doctrine, and creed, but none over this great central thought which has given unity to the Christian faith through all time. When all else had spelt disruption, in it alone was persistence to be found. Nor is the least power of Mahomet to-day that he also took from Christ this great thought of God as "Allah the All-Merciful." Never so simple a philosophy in its statement, never one so mighty in its results. It trans-

formed the outlook of a world. The history of ethics during the past two thousand years has been the history of the working out of this idea. And as a philosophy alone would we consider this teaching. With religion we would dissociate it in its entirety. *Religio*, the tie which unites the individual with the infinite, is for the individual alone. Here we would simply regard the teaching of Christ that God is our Father, as we would that of any other philosopher. If His teaching so appeals to a human mind it needs no further convincing; if otherwise, what argument is of any moment? But really, is it in accordance with experience? ask the critically inclined. It is well asked. It was so asked by an ancient world. An ancient world knew no father as its God; an ancient world above all saw its deity as a deity to be appeased. Hindooism, ever logical, would visualize the deity in his attributes alone. Brahminism, in its imaginings, in its Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the preserver; Siva, the destroyer—gave the key to the GREAT UNKNOWN as seen by the religions of the past. But it was Siva who loomed largest in their beliefs; it was Siva who dominated a heated imagination; it was Siva who palsied the heart with dread. Egyptian life was one long preparation for the Day of Judgment. For those weighed in the balances of Osiris and found wanting hell gaped wide. The Greek believed in Hades, and woe the unburied or those buried with incorrect rites, and woe the soul not otherwise prepared to meet Pluto on that same awful occasion. And the Jew, in his Hellenized purgatory worked out in lurid detail, trembled with like fears. Life here in general was misery itself, it found correspondence in miseries yet to be.

Such the deity of a pagan world. And Christ came to show mankind this first great cause as Father of His children and the lover of all He had created. But is it in accord with experience?—the reiterated demand. We do not propose to discuss the point. For us it is only to repeat that thus Christ taught. As religion, each must answer the question for himself; as a philosophy we can only reply that such teaching is the basis of our present social thought, with the further fact that wherever else it has made its way, it has carried with it its justification in its results. The conception of the deity as a God of terror has always added misery to life; its utility in dragooning the masses is a myth; as a social power it has never been of the slightest utility, but on the contrary it has always dragged man down and down to the very hell it is so fertile in inventing. Nor has negation of belief in any deity at all, with the consequent void, almost invariably filled with the crassest superstition, proved much superior. On the other hand, as every missionary will testify—it is the power of his message—wherever this conception of “Our Father” has been accepted, it has in fact, brought with it a happiness or prosperity before unknown. And more, it has been accompanied by a higher and not a lower sense of social obligation. May be pure coincidence: but so it is. May be confusion of cause and effect: grant it. But it does not alter the fact. With the school of Mr. Robertson we may see in the *χριστός* cult of the Greek all the materials ready to hand for a Pauline Christianity, with Christ Himself entirely wanting in the setting—his trifling difficulty the teaching, the teacher non-existent—but be it so, it affects no facts.

And the books themselves. With the higher critic we may view the canon old and new as other great books in their origin, writing, and redaction. Human agency is probably spelt in every line. But it is the teaching that establishes the canon, not the canon which establishes the teaching. And with the man of science, the physicist, the historian, we may find in the miraculous the same wonder stories that gathered round every early teacher and hero—and they were very ordinary affairs in those days—but without in one whit affecting the teaching itself. And the power is the teaching. If wanting, the marvellous will not give it force; if present we need not very much concern ourselves as to how it is ours. However, on these matters I express no opinion. The historical fact alone concerns us. To put it no higher—the teaching of “Our Father” has been co-extensive with the progress of our social life and social ideals. We know the controversy which has waged round the subject. Has Christianity moulded civilization, or has civilization moulded Christianity? Probably action and reaction is to be remarked, but happy a people which has for its ideal a thought always slightly in advance of actual conditions. Wild platitude or fine sentiments are useless as moulders of conduct. And it is thus this teaching of Christ has proved the great moral force of our times. It has worked itself into the thought of the world. It has changed our outlook on life. It has revolutionized our ideas of our relationship together. In such teaching slavery is at an end, and the well-being of each becomes the common concern of all. It well unites with the progress in physical science which we have remarked, and with it helps in the

general development of man. The most sceptical as well as the most devout are prepared to see in such thought a reasonable proposition that well fits in with the harmony of life as a whole. In such teaching, according to our proclivities, we may see allegory or parable or touching story illustrative of our relations with the unseen, or we may view it as the oriental imagery or eastern hyperbole of a great teacher struggling with a great truth which he would give to mankind; but its *results* are in the realms of ascertained fact. And here in no way is it my own views that I would give. I doubt if they are of any interest to any one but myself. All I can attempt is with every possible sympathetic appreciation to present those of our Teacher Himself. And, after all, this is the right of every speaker or author. It is not in the adulation of enthusiastic admirers, still less in the perversions of enemies, that His work should be found, but in the fair and dispassionate setting forth of the mere narrator. At the same time, owing to the special surroundings of our great subject, there are many sayings and incidents connected with His mission that are occasion of such violent difference of opinion that it seems well to omit reference to them altogether. And, after all, in this creedless Christianity, we have such a wealth of material left upon which all are agreed that for the purposes of this inquiry we may well, without risk of giving any false impression, make such omissions.

But, however approached, the subject is not an easy one; but it has this merit, the study of it can never be other than with profit.

C. Y. C. DAWBARN.

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APPLIED PHILOSOPHY

PART I.

Introductory.



CHAPTER I.

LIFE A DUALITY.

It is in the application of philosophy—in applied philosophy—that the future development of man is to be found. Too great delight in the abstract was the failing of an ancient philosophical world; too great a disregard for it is the danger of our times. Life is essentially a duality. Life is neither thought alone nor acts alone. It is the two in conjunction. In great life it has always been the practical combined with the imaginative. Divorced from one another, and the dreamer is as useless as the fussy busybody, aimless and purposeless. For epoch-making results we must have not only the great work of the master builder, but the enthusiastic idealism of the inspired architect. In physics we speak of momentum, i.e. of mass multiplied by velocity. And the measure of its effectiveness is neither mass alone nor velocity alone but the resultant of them both. And Napoleon, extending the idea to war, spoke of the momentum of an army as its effective force—its mass multiplied by its velocity. And may we not press the parallel a little further and find the same momentum in every phase of life? Life is made up of reason and action; principles and

practice; of faith and acts; of philosophy and conduct; and this duality, as we have said, may we not well speak of it even if with no great precision of definition as moral momentum? Then the effective measure of life will be not the measure of its reason or philosophy alone nor yet of its actions or conduct alone but of the two in conjunction. It is theory and practice which make the effective man, e.g. we want neither the lawyer nor the physician who is purely academic, any more than the empiric who has not mastered the underlying principles of his profession. And thus in particular we find the great politician like Mr. Gladstone not only the practical man of affairs but also a great master of principle as well. And it was in this full view of life that Bacon was supreme. It was no indifference to the abstract that divided him from the schools of the past, but that such abstract should be so hopelessly divorced from the realities of existence. Philosophy, finding no counterpart in conduct, is but idle dreaming; still, conduct with no ordered thought behind is a ship without a rudder. That principles were essential he fully agreed; it was with their methods of arriving at them that he differed. He entirely distrusted principles evolved *a priori* from fondly imagined premises. Truth alone was to be found in the patient examination of life itself. The pursuit of an absolute has been the quest of the philosopher in every age. Its very illusiveness has an irresistible fascination. But there is no absolute to be found in churning up the workings of one's own mind. Get facts, more facts, and in them you may possibly get a glimmer of an absolute, but in no other way. But not so a world of the past. Human nature, ever averse to patient toil, far preferred its armchair theorizing; its postulation of premises, its elaboration of syllogism. Our days have seen a mighty advance. With Bacon, the scientific mind positively craves for facts. Possibly the want is a little more of that mind-analysis of an ancient world. Possibly the want is a

little more of that breadth of view which shall see facts in their bearing on one another. Digestion and collation of facts is also a necessary stage in progress. But it is a wholesome step forward, this demand for realities. To adapt a trite proverb—make sure of the facts, and the philosophy will take care of itself. And every new fact discovered is a step forward in our road Godwards. He is the consummation of all facts. A new fact, and we know a little more about Him. "I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend and the Talmud and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind," and then in examination of His works he will have us seek a little further insight into this mind. And this mind needs seeking out. It has made life infinitely complex. To the ignorant alone is life simple. The ancients used to say the greatest progress made by man was from unconscious to conscious ignorance. The only confidence is that blind to every outlook but its own. For every wonder fathomed ten develop. Once the world—our little world—was the hub of the universe: then grew consciousness of the vastness of space. Now we would know, is this space more than a bubble in infinity? And what of the all-controlling "Mind"? And life is full of problems, nor do we know any short cut to any principle or truth or absolute that shall solve every difficulty. That there may be some all-embracing truth, some absolute, some master principle, probably must be, is, undoubted; but it is given to an Infinite being alone to know it. The truth is like a glorious gem which a deity alone can vision as a whole. With our finite intelligence we are singularly favoured if we are shown but one facet. And that we shall all see the same facet is neither probable nor desirable. That we all see differently is part of that infinite variety in which our Maker delights. No two leaves are even the same; then why two human beings? Thus the impossibility of enunciating any principle of universal application. Attempt it and exceptions submerge it in their flood. Attempt it, and

other principles as plausible have to be reconciled. Attempt it, and we are lost in a world of the imagination alone. For us poor human beings there is no such thing as a principle at large. Our limitations are so great that we can only rationally consider a principle in conjunction with actual facts in which it is involved. Thus the fatuity of general argument. Any discussion of principle, to be of the slightest value, must always be *ad hoc*. Hence the magnificence of our common law. It is law thus evolved. Its basis is that moral consciousness born of infinite experiences, essence of the race itself, which in concrete cases has been reduced to form and words. Thus have found enunciation those broad principles of right, honesty, and honour in the application of which to new and particular instances is told the great lawyer and the great judge. And above all it is the great judge who, knowing the limitations of human powers, is disinclined to ever state principles at large. He severely limits his decision to the found facts before him. Who does not remember that shrewd old judge, our late Master of the Rolls—who greater in knowledge? who acuter in intellect?—but who was never to be beguiled into stating any principle other than as it applied to the actual case he was considering. And hence the weight of his decisions. And in the elucidation of life, it is such decisions *ad hoc*, which are of supreme value. In the patient investigation of innumerable cases, principles may emerge which, derived from the actual facts of actual life, may help us somewhat when faced with similar difficulties. But even so derived, we must beware of hasty generalization from insufficient data. Such hasty generalization is the weakness of human nature. The mind, ever indolent, derives as it imagines certain immutable principles from altogether insufficient premises, and then takes such principles as the basis of conduct with which they have little relation. And still more indolent, the mind delights to crystallize such immature principles into phrases, and in their easy statement find a

universal solvent of every doubt. And going a step further, such phrases become sacred, and the rights and wrongs of life are to be determined, not on their merits, but by their approximation to these essential truths (?). Thus our words, like Liberty, Democracy, Progress, Progressive, Monopoly, Liberalism, Socialism, Communism, etc., etc., with phrases like Self-determination; Capital and Labour; a living wage; a fair wage; the right to work; the greatest good of the greatest number; equality of opportunity; Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform; Unearned increment; Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality; etc., etc., the chief merit of all being that they sound well; beg many a question; and can assume any meaning which the user chooses to give them. That they are so hopelessly vague that they never appeal to two minds in the same way is of no consequence, and they are used as if they were the first and last word on such subject, and as if rights and wrongs were to be determined by interpretation of them, instead of their being recognized as merely a loose way of expressing certain ideas with which—with proper reservations, exceptions, and distinctions made—we are mostly in accord.

There is no short cut to the determination of right and wrong. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the determination of right and wrong is a matter of infinite difficulty and demands infinite trouble if a correct conclusion is to be arrived at. Salvation is not to be found by trying to change mankind in the mass, but by seeking what is just in the unit. God never asked the wisest of us to remake His works. He has given us a certain intelligence which may to some small extent master the conditions of our immediate environment, but little more. And not a few of our present evils are that we will be wiser than God. Instead of inquiring how He solves a problem in actual life, we will advance our puny theories of how it ought to be solved—with the further modest suggestion in the background that if only the making of the universe had been in our hands there would never have been

any such problem at all. Of the underlying purpose we know nothing—absolutely nothing. For once we can use the word absolute in its full meaning. Our great thinkers would reconcile the ways of God to man. Was ever such absurdity? What God intends IS, and what is He INTENDS. And we understand Him exactly so far as He intends, and no more. It is in the modest seeking out His facts that we shall find His will—find Him as He is. And He has given us life, and its little problems He permits us to help in working out. But they have to be worked out. There is no one panacea for every ill. There is no one quack nostrum of universal application. But it is in collocation of effort; it is in all working together; it is in the application of pertinent principle to ascertained facts that progress alone is to be found. If the principle to be applied is wrong, failure will result. If the facts are imaginary, success will be as impossible. Let our philosophy be never so magnificent, but finding no correspondence in conduct and in resulting life it is negligible. It has no vital, no moral momentum. It has no more effectiveness than mass without motion, or an atom in a state of high velocity. And conduct on a high plane will go from strength to strength when it finds its twin component force in a sound and true principle which has not been guessed, nor imagined, nor otherwise lazily evolved out of our inner consciousness; but which has been sought and found and hammered out on the forge of actual life itself.

CHAPTER II.

RACE CONSCIOUSNESS.

It is in race education we find the all-essential of life. How far it is within man's powers to effect change may be debatable. Race preservation is the great prescriber of philosophy and conduct. That there is action and reaction between these two great forces of life is undoubted. Life, essentially self-protective, gathers round it those theories and principles with which it is in accord; these again give it permanence and force. And taught by experience, the great mistress, what practices prove beneficial, these become protected by religion or taboo. Thus established, they become as years pass by sacred with time; and attributed to divine revelation, their rightness or wrongness ceases to be arguable. Conditions may change, but customs, even with utility and meaning lost, survive, so much have they become part and parcel of the moral consciousness of the race itself.

And it is this race consciousness which distinguishes one nation from another. Great traditions find counterpart in a philosophy and conduct largely in accord, whilst a troubled past finds reflex in a corresponding life. And born of infinite experience, it is this race consciousness which is the basis of the codes of honour, ethics, and thought which go to the very being of existence itself. Again and again we find the individual saying such and such a thing is not right. He is speaking according to the inherited race-thought of generations, and is in the main correct. But to be altogether correct is a matter of the greatest

difficulty, so many and so vital are the considerations involved. Our English notions are well exemplified in the contemptuous phrase, "It's not cricket." "I can't define a jingo," said Morley, "but I know him when I see him." So no more touching epitaph has ever been penned than the simple words, "He played the game." And what finer epitome have we of an English gentleman in whatever rank of life he be found. And it is such concepts that are the most precious inheritance of a race. The greatest heritage of any race is not its art or literature, but the noble example of its great sons. And the world may weep when such a one is wrongfully dethroned. His loss is a void no brilliancy can fill.

And happy the race when such consciousness is a noble one. To change life, the crystallization of the thought and action of many a century, is beyond the power of any single generation. A cataclysmic event may effect it, but *it*, only after lapse of many years, maybe centuries. It is very gradually that a race is weaned from long-established notions, good or bad. All change in races is along lines of well determined channels, and this is a fact which must never be lost sight of. Would we help our fellow man at home and abroad, all-important to first inquire, what of his particular life, what of the way it is already taking? And then it is the tendency of any change we must consider, far more than the proposed change itself, e.g. with all our virtues as a virile race, is not improvidence our national failing? And what of the tendency of the numerous so-called reforms we have seen come and go in our time? A false move, and it is only a more bitter lesson to be learnt in the days to come. And would we raise our fellow man to a plane of exalted perfections, still we must inquire is it in accord with the race-consciousness of which he is the result? Is it in accord with the flood of life moving with resistless force and sweeping him and all before it? It is so little divergence we can effect, even if working with the stream. And against—

as well attempt to empty Niagara with a tea-cup. And here we find reason for the shipwreck of so many a fair scheme for the improvement of mankind. It is on lines foreign to this genius of its people. And in the attempt it is no improvement we shall make, but confusion worse confounded. Volumes could be written full of the tragedy of those already miserable, but whose misery has been made unbearable by a zeal undoubtedly well intentioned, but not too wisely inspired.

And the evolution and development of such mental concepts is essentially the province of psychology. Probably of such psychology the ethical or moral is a most important part, but it is much more far-reaching, including as it does all phenomena relating to the mind or soul. And here I must express regret at the absence of the friend on whom I had relied to work out this branch of our inquiry. He was well qualified for the task. He had wide experience of mental cases, only too numerous through the war, and had amassed a vast amount of material which would have been invaluable had he been able to join in its presentation. But other duties have called him far from these parts, and I am afraid it has to be left undone. For myself it is altogether beyond my powers to deal with it, but as its points of contact with what we are considering are many, it may help us a little to mention a few heads under which investigation is being prosecuted in the true scientific spirit, i.e. by the collection and study of actual facts. And here again we find proof that it is only by the discussion of a principle in connection with the actual facts in which it is involved that any valuable conclusion is to be arrived at. With my friend; a new case—and it always was—what the deductions from it? How did it fit in with experience? What did it suggest? Here, e.g. a patient was in despair because his pension was renewed; he wanted assurance he was well once more—poor fellow, he was not; and there an applicant, quite as sincere, indignant when told he was right. Here was a man

practically carried into the room and leaving it in ecstasy because he had been made to walk by himself, and there another as depressed that there was no like magic for him. Malingerers were few—a happy phase of his experience and cases passed through his hands by the thousand, and each had its own lesson to teach. And all so matter of fact, and for mastering the true functions of the mind in relation to the body of more value than the profoundest theories of the profoundest metaphysicians of our own or any age. True, we are only on the threshold, but our scientists are not the stuff to be content with looking through a door that is only half ajar. They mean to have it much wider open before many years are passed.

And to glance at our subject. We begin with the great mystery of all the mystery of life itself. It is both unexplainable and indefinable. Life is life: and we can only refer to concrete examples if we would further elucidate our meaning. Our next stage: human life, as we know it here, is mind and body, and we realize the importance of the subject when we note how completely the body is in subjection to the mind. As ever, we have action and reaction, and we do not know of mind altogether rising independent of its earthly tenement; and certainly the mind 'gone,' and the body ceases to function. And what has been the evolution of the mind as ages have passed? Experience seems to have been the one great teacher. Much of life improved, is found in the simple phrase, "never again." Man has erred and suffered. Like the child he seems to have learnt. Careful it shall do itself no serious injury, in a little passing smart, we are glad for it to learn the danger of fire. So, happy a nation when in small matters it has learnt to avoid a great catastrophe.

And for the moment our scientists are hungry for facts connected with the mind. In both health and disease they seek for them. These they mostly classify under three great heads: Consciousness, and the physical and mystical attributes of the mind.

Volumes have been written about our consciousness, but our practical scientist assumes what every one realizes, and searches out its phenomena rather than the whys and wherefores of its existence. Far better than attempting to explain creation, is to try and learn about it. Our consciousness extends to things past which we call memory: to things present which we regard as experience; and to things not present, or in the future, of which imagination is the sponsor. In all, vagaries as well as regularity of working have to be examined. So one simple incident may possibly excite consciousness in several directions at the same time. In our powers of memory there is much mystery, i.e., in the power of the mind to record experiences. These seem mostly recalled by association of ideas. With stirring incidents this association is the strongest, and therefore is more likely to recur and bring to present consciousness memories of happenings thus stored up. The memory is not very unlike a file of undeveloped films. Their very existence may have been forgotten for years, and then some chance and one is again as vivid as if of yesterday. And things apparently unnoticed at the time may be thus recorded. Many a criminal has been identified by people who have seen him without particular notice, but whose attention has been recalled to him by a photograph or description of him in the papers. And thus, when otherwise occupied, words may be said in our hearing which we are not actively conscious of noting, but which circumstances may recall in freshness and vigour. Hence the mournful note of the preacher that though his people cannot tell a word of his sermon, yet let him give it again and half his congregation will hint at the fact. And similar phenomena are equally incident to us in sleep. Sleep is very far from unconsciousness. It is far different from a swoon or coma or collapse. In sleep tired nerves are but resting awhile, and consciousness is all ready to respond to the slightest incident which it means to observe. A thundering steam engine may

not cause a sleeping mother to so much as wink an eye, when the slightest whimper of her little one will have her on her feet in a moment. Slumber—suspension of certain phases alone—leaves us prepared to resume a more active consciousness exactly as we expected to do when falling asleep. So it may be for hours or may be for an instant only, but we know no measure of the time elapsed: e.g. who on a walk even has not experienced such sleep between one step and another, when years might have passed in that brief interval. And it would seem to these stored up memories we owe those complexes—to use the psychological term now in vogue—which go to make us what we are. Whether we are born with complexes or more than born with a tendency to certain complexes is not yet determined. Some regard the mind as soil more or less fertile, in which seed when sown by external agencies will more or less thrive, whilst others incline to the view that the mind comes into existence with seed already sown. At present neither school is inclined to dogmatize, the facts not having been sufficiently ascertained. At the same time there is more unanimity as to race characteristics being due either to seed thus existent, or to the mind itself having through continued birth and rebirth of the species, become highly disposed and adapted to accepting certain seeds or impressions, and to rejecting others, foreign to what we may term the genius of the race. Thus, whichever hypothesis be adopted, in the result both approximate to the same conclusion. Take a musical child. Whether born with music innate, or highly predisposed to music, the fact is it will absorb music, whatever its condition of life. So with the art child. Eyes and no-eyes dominate every class of life. And these seeds, innate or sown, developed into full crops, become those complexes of which we have spoken. The man of to-day is the child of his past. His present notions, his present complexes, are but such original complexes adapted, developed, and modified as years have passed. A man starts with notions,

with convictions, with complexes which with changing conditions he may change, but no man sets out to provide himself with a new and complete set quite independent of all that has gone before. And here is the most important result. A man, from the first equipped with complexes, as he grows in years rather seeks to rationalize them than question their reasonableness or truth. It was not reason first that selected the complexes, but reason that was called in afterwards to justify them already in existence. And this above all tends to the persistence of race notions. Facts which fortify a conviction, which are in accord with what we already hold, we at once seize upon and accept with little further examination. Facts counter to our preconceived views we put lightly on one side. Of this we have example in our own race. Our history for nearly a thousand years is that of a strong, unconquered people. We have suffered disasters from time to time, but never a debacle. And it moulds our whole temperament. Our very love of truth is born of our consciousness of strength; we are no slave race to have to weigh our words; lying is the resource of the coward and weakling. Our tendency is to be unnecessarily brutal in our expression of it. We rather pride ourselves on being outspoken: "a plain man" is no insult to an Englishman, though his plainness often takes the form of disregard for other people's feelings. But we are rather inclined to think that people ought not to have feelings—feelings to be ruffled by mere words. If fact is behind them, it is the fact that hurts, and that is another matter. Probably many a national complex could be traced directly to our climate. As once observed, "A man who can stand our climate can stand anything." Certainly we face it, and do not coddle ourselves or run from it. And thus our attitude in things political. Our danger may be over-confidence, but we decline to be suspicious. We decline to be rattled. We will not act in a panic. As a race we are not going under. Germany had her try—Germany will try again—Germany would gladly

cut our throat to-morrow if she could. We are perfectly aware of it. It is one factor in the situation never to be ignored, but it is not the only factor. And we calmly ask, not like a child in a fright, but like a strong man in his strength, What is best to be done? We deeply sympathize with France. We have no words in which to tell the wickedness of Germany, but—here is another fact—all the world is one, and no part can be sick without all suffering. But, as usual, general principles help but little. It is the application of them which is of infinite difficulty.

Again in the psychology of the subject a commencement is being made. We may not understand the why or wherefore of nervous muscular control, and still less how such muscular control is under direction of the mind, but our scientists are collecting and collating innumerable facts relating to it. And we see the mind in both conscious and—as termed—subconscious activity. Half the functions of life are carried on without our being particularly aware of the fact. But that the mind is the dominating rule seems equally undoubted in both cases. Cessation of power may be due to defective nervous control, and this itself be directly due to a definite mental state. A man thinks that he is paralysed in a limb. The limb is perfect, the muscles sound, the nerves in order; what alone stops function is the mind. Thus as to conscious action of the mind. But equally, let a man believe he cannot digest his dinner—we are happiest when unconscious of any action going on—and digestion will cease. But really of this power of the mind even in its ordinary functions and in health we know very little. Returning to our example of a paralysed limb. Defect may be due to muscular injury, nervous breakdown, or mental failure. Above all it has been the war that has taught us to seek the cause as much in the last as in either of the preceding alternatives. Even now we know it only under the term neurasthenia, as if mind and nerve connoted synonymous ideas. As indicated by that most marvellous of men, Francis Bacon, there

is still a great future in medicine in determining how much health failure is due to the mind and what is the proper treatment of it. One example. Sleeplessness may be due to actual inflammation of brain cells, or an excited state of nerve control—as is so often the case with excessive alcoholism—and as such may need treatment; but when we have muscle and nerve in perfect health the evil must be due to the mind itself. As in the case instanced of digestion, the mind is determined sleep is impossible, and therefore impossible it is. Again, infinitely easy to diagnose, but infinitely hard to alleviate. But we seem undoubtedly on the right road. In curative hypnotism is found the solution. Hypnotism is not exactly a happy word of definition, but we pretty well agree what we intend by it. A more felicitous term is "imagination," as used by Bacon. Many of the phenomena connected with the imagination or hypnotism are as purely of physical origin as any other function of the mind in relation to the body. In many respects the hypnotic state is as much a physical state, subject to physical laws and susceptible of scientific examination, as the laws of motion or the velocity of light. Its foundation seems to be subject to further inquiry—that everything is to a man exactly as he believes it to be. Hypnotism seems to be entirely subjective. It is entirely a state of one's own belief, i.e. of one's own mind. It would seem that this belief is under control of no outside agency whatever. Any power an outside agency has over us is solely due to our belief it has such power, and is severely limited by the bounds of our belief. It is here where the modern hypnotic practitioner rather plays with quackery. He knows that he has no power, and yet, to effect his cure, he must give the impression that he has. Would one hypnotize a friend who is ignorant of the theory, e.g. send him to sleep, it is far from difficult if one is prepared to play upon his fancy. But to be frank, to own that one has no such influence, to tell him that it will be his own mind which alone will cause his somnolence, is to leave him as wide awake as oneself.

But since the war much study is being given to the subject, and apparently with no little success.

The part played by hypnotism in the history of world-thought is far greater than one would at first credit. Every ancient religion or superstition found its authority in its manifestations. Ignorant of its elementary principles, and its results are the miraculous itself. Whether some of its phenomena even now do not pass human experience is in debate. The imagination, hypnotically stimulated, seems to have the power not only of acting intensely on the mind in its conscious state, but also in its subconscious state. Hypnotized, his memory abnormally quickened in certain directions, and a person may recall things which in his usual state he has totally forgotten. So experiences unconsciously recorded may be drawn upon, and sometimes with startling effect, e.g. the servant maid who, when hypnotized, delivered lectures in Hebrew. Ultimately the explanation was found in her having been in the service of a professor who used to read his work aloud when she was tidying up his study. Whether any advance on this has been made; whether in an hypnotic stage any one has ever given out anything not definitely put into the mind previously by ascertained agencies, is a matter of keen controversy. Not understood, hypnotism has been attributed to occult agency, mostly evil, though now to a great extent it is recognized to be only the mind in a state of activity of an abnormal description. Life is consciousness; in an hypnotic state we have a perverted consciousness. But this does not end the matter—certainly not with some schools. Subject as hypnotism in general is to law and examination, yet undoubtedly we do seem to have phenomena which, going to extremes, transcend these bounds and melt into the mystic pure and simple. Such, for example, is clairvoyance. Of this, the marvels are too many and too well attested to be dismissed with merely a shrug or a sneer. Belief in clairvoyance under its many names has been a settled belief of the world through all ages, and is by some as im-

plicitly credited to-day. The hits and misses of Bacon—the hits we recall, the misses we forget—may explain away many a wonderful tale; the long arm of coincidence, as it is termed, may explain many another; the art of the raconteur which is not going to spoil a good tale for want of a little embellishing and exaggeration, may necessitate the paring of numerous others; but yet for all that a residuum remains, seemingly founded on undoubted fact.

And here in hypnotism and such clairvoyance we have half-way house to that mystical state of the mind which is even more a closed book to us than its other phases which we have been considering. Rightly or wrongly, reasonably or unreasonably, we are all conscious of some relation with the infinite which we can neither justify nor explain. This we know as religion. It is not a matter of evidence: it is a matter of experience. Temperament and our cradle creed may account for much, but for all that experience, altogether personal, is for ourselves our final court of appeal. Naturally conclusions thus arrived at carry with them the limitation that they cannot possibly bind other people, who equally find their satisfaction in convictions similarly established. And thus it is that the higher truths in all beliefs are substantiated, and thus alone; they are all part of our mystical consciousness. They are not to be explained, by many not even to be talked about. They owe their authority to no man but to this illumination alone. And never can this experience be the same in any two human beings. God delights in abounding variety. And no two of us the same, we must each see God differently. And, above all, to each God speaks differently, in especial that each has different needs. Thus it is that one truth comes home to ourselves, another to our friend or brother. But the evidence of the truth is that it does so come home. And it is well argued, that exactly as earthly food nourishes our mortal body—how we cannot say—so does such revelation nourish our spiritual existence—though how we are equally at a loss to determine. It

is enough—we find satisfaction. It is not in the miracle of their preservation, not in the miracle of the records—these may or may not be other than of purest human agency—but it is that truths in their very enunciation carry completest conviction. However derived, it is truths that are all in all, and not the machinery by which they have been preserved. And more particularly is this so as regards the truths we find in the books of the canon. It is the truths they contain that make us so intensely interested in the way that they have come down to us, and not the way that they have come down to us which establishes them as truths. Attacks are made on the Old and New Testaments. They abound in more such truths than all the other literature of the world heaped together; and they need no other vouching to command our unqualified allegiance and respect.

However, this part of our subject would take us too far afield, and is without the purview of this inquiry. Furthermore, for the present, we have far too few facts on which to base any conclusions of general authority. This mystic consciousness—this tie with the infinite—so far remains a matter of individual experience alone, and as to that experience, it is for no one, certainly not myself, to express any opinion upon it whatever.

PART II.

Physical Science as determinant in life.

CHAPTER III.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS SUGGESTED BY THE PRESENT WAR.*

*Ladies, Gentlemen, and Members
of the Philomathic Society,*

When your Council did me the honour to ask me to fill the vacancy so sadly caused by the death of our esteemed President elect, the late Sir John Grey Hill, we little thought we were to resume our meetings in such a crisis of our history as now confronts us.

Our Society is very old, and with some little pride I think we are entitled to survey its record dating from 1825. And varied have been the occasions on which we have met. We have met in the friendly rivalry of debate; we have met to hear papers which are still a pleasure to read; we have met to do honour to our own members, many of whom have figured on the larger stage of civic and national activities; we have met to do honour to guests like Oliver Wendell Holmes, Russell Lowell, Herkomer, Irving, and others with reputations wide as the world itself; but never have we met as to-day, when in the midst of a life and death struggle we find that our very existence as a great empire is itself being challenged.

* An address read before the Liverpool Philomathic Society at the opening of the ninetieth Session, October 1914.

The immediate facts leading up to the present conjuncture are well in the recollection of us all. They centre round the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand on June 28th of this year. For some time friction had existed between Austria and Serbia. This was accentuated in 1908, when Austria incorporated Bosnia, and it was not lessened when, in March 1909, she compelled Serbia to admit that the *fait accompli* had not affected her rights. Fuel was added when, at the close of the Turkish war, she prevented Serbia securing a port on the Adriatic; and no doubt the "Greater Serbia" movement, the ideal of the Balkan Serb, received further impetus from such action. Then the Archduke was murdered, and Austria resolved to make it the excuse for a general ending of this "Greater Servian" agitation, and she determined to hold Serbia responsible for the murder itself. What Serbia or the movement was to gain by such a colossal piece of stupidity she has not yet shown. Its only effect could be to enrage Europe, otherwise inclined to admire her for her plucky fight against the Turk, and, as an act of policy, could only be as disastrous as was the murder of Lord Cavendish to Home Rule. Even yet more devoid of reason does it seem to attribute it to the machinations of Russia. For Russia, at any rate, "the day" had not arrived, and she had nothing to gain and all to lose by being precipitate. Whatever her ultimate designs, Russia, for the time being, we know was not anxious for war but to consolidate her resources, and twenty years' peace from her war with Japan in which to grow and develop, we know was her policy. And had it been otherwise would she have resorted to so odious and foolish a pretext for hostilities as the assassination of one of the blood royal. Inconceivable! And yet again it has been suggested that the Archduke was sent to Bosnia as part of a deep-laid plan by Germany to cause trouble in the Balkans, and to afford her a plausible excuse for taking action. But surely we have no right to attribute such a crime to Germany more than to

Servia or Russia. Is not the true view the obvious one, that this cruel outrage was due to the mad act of some mad irreconcilable, actuated by more zeal than discretion? But whilst to plot a disturbance is one thing, to take advantage of it when caused is quite another. If Germany did desire war, the psychological moment for action had arrived. Never was murder more opportune as excuse for immediate action. On the one hand she was trained to an hour, to use the parlance of the prize ring, and on the other her probable enemies would all profit by delay. Russia had a strike to settle; France was preparing to strengthen her army: and as for ourselves, as our monarch on July 21st had said, "To-day the cry of civil war is on the lips of the most responsible and sober minded of my people." And time was actually against her. The maintenance of an army to cope with Europe, and the building of a navy to cope with ourselves, was involving a financial strain which every year became more serious, and in this alone many of the shrewdest saw the gravest menace to peace. And more, owing to our determination to more than build ship against ship, she could see no way to improve the relative position of her navy. And as regards her army, she could do no more. As subsequent events have shown, she was prepared for war to the last fuse, and every plan was complete. The Kiel Canal was just finished. Krupps, for months, had been working overtime. Her agents had been freely buying horses for cavalry, her ships were ready to be made into cruisers, some carrying reserves of guns with which to fit out sister ships. So we know charters had been made to supply them with coal; whilst as for the spy system, it was so extensive that we have not yet got rid of the pest. Yes, if she desired war, what happier conjuncture? Whilst otherwise, was there ever a moment when she could not have prevented it?

Complications due to the murder of the Archduke were in the air, no doubt, but the nations, all generally annoyed with Servia as the troubler of Europe, were

agreed that so far as her complicity was proved, she deserved punishment. All were agreed, Russia included, but all were equally agreed that in the name of punishment Serbia was not to be crushed as a nationality. Russia in particular could not stand by to see this done. Serbia was one with her in race, above all in religion, and under her protection. To have deserted her would have been infamous. And in her dealings with Serbia Austria knew exactly how Russia stood in the matter, and yet, on the evening of Thursday, July 23rd, she delivers her ultimatum. Her warmest apologist would not describe it as conciliatory, and she demanded a reply within forty-eight hours. Having delivered it, she sent copies to the Powers. Its reception was one of mute amazement, and Germany even professed to be surprised at the harshness of its terms. What was behind it all was on every lip. It was a direct challenge to Russia. As for Russia, well might she have exclaimed with the King of Israel when the King of Syria sent Naaman to him to be cured of his leprosy, "Wherefore, consider, I pray you, and see how he seeketh a quarrel against me." Serbia sought her advice, and Russia asked Austria for more time, so that diplomacy might intervene in the cause of peace: Austria refused, and Serbia, on Russia's advice, submitted on every point save one so unusual that she asked that it should be left to the Hague Court whether she ought to comply. For answer, on Saturday, July 25, at 6.30, Austria withdrew her minister from Belgrade, the Servian minister also receiving his papers and leaving Vienna. In Vienna is wild rejoicing, but older heads are thinking that Servian veterans may prove a harder nut to crack than they think. But note, there is still no quarrel between her and Russia. She professes to ask nothing more than the punishment of Serbia, to which Russia agrees; and what alone is in debate is, how is she to satisfy Russia of the integrity of her professions.

So Sunday passes, Monday, Tuesday, with little

outward change save that on Tuesday Austria makes formal declaration of war; followed on Wednesday by Russia commencing to mobilize. Sir Edward Grey is working strenuously for peace, and is anxious that Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany shall unite in a conference to adjust difficulties. He can see no dispute that cannot be settled, and certainly no reason for war between the Powers. Germany, most conciliatory, thinks matters can be best adjusted between Austria and Russia acting direct. Europe is generally alarmed, but Germany is still hopeful, and on Thursday she reassures France that the news of her mobilization is inexact. Friday passes, still there is no difference between Austria and Russia that may not well be arranged, certainly no rupture or war between them, and equally certain that Austria has not yet called upon Germany and Italy to come to her assistance in the terms of their triple alliance. Meantime, Germany, as a precautionary measure only, has proclaimed martial law, Belgium is in deepest gloom, and we are receiving assurance of support from every part of the empire. Still, on the surface, there is not the slightest reason why there should be any war at all. Sir Edward Grey has once again assured Germany we will join with her and Austria in the cause of peace, and certainly with a word Germany can end the suspense if she will. But will she? that is the question. And yet, why not?

Then comes Friday midnight: Germany is armed to the teeth, prepared to the last fuse, as said, and, like a tiger crouching in the jungle, with one awful spring she has seized her victim by the throat—and that victim is France. Ultimatums to demobilize within twelve hours are followed on Saturday, at 7.30, by formal declaration of war on Russia, and on Sunday, without declaration of war, by invasion of French territory, at Longwy, Cirey, and Delle. From then on there is no pause. Monday, August 3rd, she gives Belgium a twelve hours' ultimatum, but invades her territory before the time for answer has expired. And this is

followed by our counter ultimatum to her to withdraw, and on her refusal, by our declaration of war on Tuesday, August 4th, at 11 p.m. Such are the facts. Apart from all hearsay, rumours and reports that have since accumulated, is there any reasonable doubt that Germany meditated war from the very beginning, when the Archduke was murdered?

Now we understand why the ultimatum to Servia was so harsh. Now we understand why she had only forty-eight hours in which to answer. Now we know why Sir Edward Grey's efforts for peace failed. Yes; now everything is clear; Germany was resolved upon war. And why, and for what? Because of the death of the Archduke? Because she was the ally of Austria?—who, by the way, had never called upon her. Because of the mobilization of Russia, which at a word she could have ended, as for Russia at any rate "the day" had not yet arrived, No; it was for none of these reasons, but because the time had come when the greatest war, for the greatest stake for which man has ever played, had now to be fought to a finish. No; this tremendous war is a war for no small thing. This war is a clashing of principles, of the old-world principle of divine right, militancy, and all that it involves on the one hand, and of democracy and all that we have learnt to prize in that term on the other. The whole principles of right and wrong are in the melting pot. With the complete triumph of Germany in all the fullness of her dreaming would be the end of the democratic ideal for many a generation yet to come; while the triumph of the Allies will be the death-blow to the militancy she would again impose upon the world.

And what is this militancy, we ask? "The Prussian sovereigns"—says Bismarck—"are in possession of a crown, not by the grace of the people, but by God's grace, an actual, unconditional crown, some of the rights of which they have voluntarily conceded to the people, an example rare in history."

And how comes it that Germany should be champion

of such a principle? Let us briefly review her more recent history. The beginning of the nineteenth century found Europe in the grip of privilege. The French Revolution spread the gospel of democracy. For a while Napoleon was its great champion, and so long as he was its champion he was idolized. His great mission became merged in his personal ambitions, and his fall postponed democracy some forty years. The peace that sealed his doom also outwardly restored the old order. The general promise, given in the hour of danger, that the people should share in their own government was forgotten as the danger passed by, and representative institutions, for years to come, were still to be but a dream.

Prussia had such a representative body, and as long as it fulfilled its mission of voting what its executive required it was tolerated; when it would exercise a will of its own, Bismarck governed in defiance of its existence. The people then, democratic in their sympathies, fretted and raged, but a master hand curbed the state. And then Bismarck planned that series of campaigns which raised Germany from a second-rate State to the head of the German confederacy, the greatest power in Europe.

Denmark, in 1864, was the first to fall before the united arms of Austria and Prussia; next, Austria herself had to succumb to Prussia, when Bismarck secured her friendship and proved the profoundness of his wisdom by the moderation of his demands. Then, in 1870-1 came the French Campaign, the triumph of his policy and of his country's arms. And, ever regardless of forms, as soon as success had justified his action, Bismarck once again took counsel with the nation in the ordering of its affairs. But with the splendour of the memories of 1870 ever present, it was a very different nation with which he had now to deal. The chains which they now wore were so gilded that they rejoiced in their slavery, and, with Bismarck himself, they began to believe in a militancy that had brought them so much glory and so many

substantial benefits. And as the years that have passed have been associated with a time of unequalled prosperity, still more have they grown accustomed to associate with militancy everything pleasurable and delightful. They compare the days of the sixties and what they then were with what they now are, and the comparison affords them unmixed satisfaction. And they associate it with their unexampled political system. "The Prussian sovereigns are in possession of a crown, not by the grace of the people, but by the grace of God"—a doctrine uncompromisingly objected to in its first enunciation, but now willingly accepted as the keystone of their social fabric. The German has the freedom he prizes. He can think and talk and live his home life exactly as he pleases, believing himself to be a great hero *in posse*, whilst meantime his Kaiser fills a want in his life which we can hardly understand. Full of day-dreams, a German is far more contemplative than ourselves, and the ceaseless vigour and activities of his monarch provide him with the exhilaration and excitement in which he delights.

And just as he can never look upon the past without a justifiable thrill of satisfaction, so is the future full of brighter promise still. Three glorious campaigns in the past, Denmark, Austria, France, see their monarch Kaiser of the German Empire. Three glorious campaigns in the future, France, Russia, England; and the possibilities are enough to make make one giddy. And the actual spoil and loot to be theirs! The fleets, the commerce, the colonies, and the territory, the indemnities, the tribute—and nothing to pay. Ach! A dream of a madman? Nay, a dream to be materialized. And more, theirs is a holy cause. Their philosophers tell them so. Their prophets tell them so. Their Kaiser tells them so. He is the new Moses. They are a chosen people. The promised land is before them. Apostles of culture, advancement, and of progress, their duty is to go in and possess. And what if the key be fire and sword—Is not that God's own way? To apostles of progress only one thing is

immoral—not to progress. And what of those who stand in the way? Progress is irresistible. Yes; to steal, and thieve, and to possess is delightful, but to merit the halo of the saint as well is simply beatific. And so they drink to "the day," the Kaiser drinks to "the day," her soldiers drink to "the day," and her people drink to "the day." And in such drinking only one unquiet thought—we decadents. How they hate us decadents! And they think of history, and they hate us the more. Who stood between Phillip II., with his great Armada and his dreaming? Who between Louis the XIV., with his conquering legions? Who between Napoleon, with a world subdued? Who stands between—too infuriating for words—the German and his dreaming? How he hates us, not only for our riches, not only for our colonies, but that we stand between him and his prey!

And as we have said, in all these day-dreamings they have been encouraged by their philosophers and teachers. It is always an interesting inquiry whether thinkers who have most affected mankind have made contemporary thought or simply voiced it. On the whole it would seem the most successful prophet is not the prophet of a wholly new faith, but the prophet who gives to vague, elusive, but general ideas expression and form. And certainly in this case they seem to have struck a responsive chord in the whole nation. The whole country is saturated with their teaching. It is very specious.

For a moment listen to Treitschke on the glories of militancy and of war:

The brutal incidents inseparable from every war vanish completely before the idealism of the main result. . . . All the sham reputations which a long spell of peace undoubtedly fosters are unmasked. Great personalities take their proper places; strength, honour, and truth come to the front, and are put into play. A thousand touching traits testify to the sacred power of love which a righteous war awakes in a noble nation. . . . War opens the most fruitful field for all virtues, for at every moment constancy, pity, magnanimity, heroism, and mercy shine forth. . . . War is elevating because the individual

disappears before the great conception of the state. The devotion of members of a community to each other is nowhere so splendidly conspicuous as in war." And thus his conclusion: "What a perversion of morality to wish to abolish heroism amongst men."*

Again, we are naturally indignant with Germany for having forced this war upon us, for in what does our prosperity jeopardize her own? Have we not done well together? Has not Herbert Spencer proved beyond dispute that the interests of nations are not conflicting but the same, and that we all do well and ill together, and that, the greater our progress, the greater will be her progress, and the greater her advancement the more also we shall benefit? Has not he proved beyond dispute that in these days of science and machinery the only limit to a nation's prosperity is its own industry and its own habits? And is it not equally proved to-day that what the world wants to learn is not how to increase its riches, but how to use wisely the superabundance it already possesses? Then for what are we at war? we again indignantly demand.

To us such arguments are conclusive; not so to such philosophy and teaching. Our interests not conflicting? they scornfully in turn demand. Are the interests of humanity, the interests of race cultivation, the interests which raise man above the beast, caring only for swill and plenty of it, are these to play no part in the life of a great nation? If by interests you mean only material interests you may be right, but, so qualified, your contention does not appeal to us. We have altogether different ideals—higher ideals, we think—and it is our mission to be apostles of culture, virtue, and progress. And so, vigorous in attack, they further demand, what have your ideals done for you? "Look at your masses," they say, with unutterable disdain. They slouch, they are slackers, they are unkempt, they are quarrelsome, they are unappetizing, they are unhealthy. The wisdom of Ecclesiasticus tells

*F. von Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War*, pp. 27-8.

us—"Desire not a multitude of unprofitable children," and dare one of you raise a finger to stay the propagation of the unfit—and lose a vote? Unmentionable! And look at that same young man with us—we educate him, we train him to bear arms, he learns obedience, he becomes well set up, strong, vigorous, a patriot and supporter of his country. And what have your material interests done for you? Made you ravenous of wealth. More, and still more, your cry; and when possessed of it what do you do with it? Matchless ideal—rival one another in the follies and inanities of display, and the greatest hero is he who can waste most on vanities. Our interests the same? It is these very interests that forbid mankind—that is the German—from entering into his kingdom."

And taking up its parable, well does this militant philosophy play upon the eternal conflict between the man who does and the man who talks. It is akin to the feud between labour and the black coat. And it would have us look at our talkers. At our men in high places, at our men sleek with the prizes of life. At those who act so big a part in piping times of peace. We are a bit staggered. We do look, and we do wonder how our empire has played so great a part in history. We think of them in a tight corner, and we ask are these the stuff that empire is made of? And we look on the Scott Expedition. We scan their faces and the riddle is read. Look at them. Fiends would not fright them. Here are the men who do. Here are the men who fill our trenches. Here are the men who fight frost and cold with a shrug, and shot and death with a pipe. Here are the men who do, and only asking to do, and to leave to the grabbers the sinecures of life. Here are the men beloved of Treitschke, Bernhardi, and all their school, but whose not least error is in preaching that the virtue they laud is only to be found in war. And so they have yet to learn that courage thus nurtured with all tenderness, kindness, pity, softness, and gentleness as its handmaiden can, if called to the field of battle, blaze into a self-devotion of self-sacrifice

that sweeps before it like the wind the mere devotees of a militant gospel. War is not the only school for courage. Peace has its heroes as well, and its heroism—to save, and not destroy—is never smirched with horrors too awful to be told.

So thus the militant would preach his gospel, and to-day he proclaims far and near a fiery cross crusade in the name of culture, progress, and of love. And the heart of his empire pulsates violently with the message. For us it has not exactly the same attraction. This will be easily understood. In the gospel of Pan-Germanism our part is but trifling. We are of those who stand in the way.

And now in his propagation of his cult he has come into conflict with the decadent, the inferior, and the democrat. The democrat—a simple fellow—knows little about philosophy and thinks less about ideals, but he grasps the central thought that another wishes to tell him how he is to live. On the instant he is no militant in theory, but a very militant in fact. His fists are doubled, his eye flashes, and squalls are ahead. Unless you also have a stout heart and cool head better out of his way. He knows what he wants, and he is going to have it. It is no part of his creed to interfere with you. Go your own way, he wishes it; but make him go yours, and you are up against the finest fighting unit the world has ever known. In ages past men have fought well; to-day every ally is a hero, for the cause for which he fights is his own.

And now we would more precisely ask—what is this militancy? from when does it date? what is its history? since when has it given place to democracy as the ruling spirit of the age?

Truly a vast field of inquiry, but to-night let us be content with a few pictures taken by the way. Let us adopt the methods of the impressionist. He will tell you, and tell you truly, that art is not to copy, nor to imitate, nor to depict, but to suggest. Hence his methods. He gives a few splashes, you do the rest. It is your mind that fills the picture with detail,

and it is your mind that gives it beauty of form and colouring. More, its very charm is that your mind has to do so much. It has stimulated effort, pleasing effort, hence its success. Now in our brief survey may the same charm be ours as we touch on the past.

As we look on militancy we find it is very old—old as civilization itself. The strong man armed keepeth his house, was the law of the old world, and the only law. Self-preservation was the be all and end all of existence in early days. Life was one long peril—peril from nature; peril from wild beasts; peril from still wilder man—Ishmaels all, their hand was against every man, and every man's hand was against them. To be weak was to be wretched. At best it meant to be enslaved—he was fortunate who escaped extermination. Life has been defined by many a philosophy as the power of adaptation to existing conditions by voluntary change. Whilst debateable as a general premiss, this view is certainly correct as regards social life as a whole. It must adapt itself or give place. Thus the immense part played by militancy in all ancient institutions. In the movements of mankind we see three great masses: the Patriarchal, The Theocratic, and the Democratic, of which the first was the direct outcome of the then conditions, the pressing need for actual safety. Probably the most authoritative account that we have of this life in a somewhat advanced stage is to be found in the early chapters of the book of Genesis, and a most interesting and instructive episode is the quarrel between the herdsmen of Lot and those of Abraham, which resulted in their going their several ways. Then we see how prepared for fighting these wandering tribes were. On the instant they could act, and did act. And in such life, when very existence depended on unity and military efficiency, we always find absolute power vested in the head or chief. His word was final. He sat in the door of his tent dispensing justice; life and death were at his nod, and from his judgment there was no appeal. Man and woman, wife and child, stranger and captive, all alike were

under his uncontrolled authority. It was the necessary consequence where military effectiveness was all essential, and where the consequences of defeat were so terrible. At best it meant slavery; it usually meant fire and slaughter. The vanquished were at the absolute disposition of the conquerors, their property and their women, and they ceased to have any right, even the right to live. The part that slavery played in olden times was enormous. It was a fate that might overtake any man, however rich, if his people were overcome—and it has had a marked effect on all their institutions. We thus see how manners and customs grew up, how class distinctions became general, and how society approximated to the military camp itself. From the slave with no rights, to the head absolute in power, there was every grade of rank; and deference to one's superior was enforced with all the precision of martial law. And by the people themselves such conditions were cheerfully accepted. Give us a king that he may lead us into battle was no mere cry of an Israelitish nation weary of priestly rule, but was the demand of a people seeking the safety such kingly rule meant.

And when tribes consolidated and kingdoms were formed, these manners and customs became more marked, and the patriarchal authority found correspondence in the absolute power and majesty of the king. And these history and religion united to make sure. The early annals or legends of a tribe always tell of some terrible danger from which it has been saved by some mighty deliverer, who thenceforth figures first as hero, then as father and monarch, and finally as demi-god of his people. And from such demi-god the reigning monarch always traced his descent. So much so was this that, for dynasties together, the ruling princes of Egypt would marry their own sisters rather than go outside the sacred house.

Nor was religion wanting to cast over them its protecting mantle. It had grown up with the kingly

power, and their interests were mostly the same. With a substratum of fact in one generation, it was a myth or legend in the next, and a belief of the tribe for ages to come. So priest and king united in making it treason to both orders to so much as doubt. Thus the origin of "divine right," with all its panoply of nobles, warriors, and chiefs, and of an order of society whose first purpose was war, and whose chief end was self-preservation.

And this seems to have been the order of society from earliest ages. It was so in ancient Babylon—ancient Babylon, ever fascinating to us as cradle of our thought—and ancient Babylon was hoary with age and civilization when Abraham was born. So it was in the sister kingdom of Egypt during its long history, and so it is to be for thousands of years to come and go. It is little change we are to mark in the manners and customs of those periods, or in their ethical conception of life, and militancy with its ideals remains the bulwark and necessity of society.

So it is in the days of Cyrus. He was one of the most enlightened conquerors of the world, but hear even him, as he addresses his great officers just after they had taken Babylon, as so vividly described in the Book of Daniel:

My friends and allies, the greatest thanks are due to the gods for having granted to us to attain those things of which we thought ourselves worthy, for we are now masters of a large and valuable country, and of people who will maintain us by its cultivation. We have houses and furniture in them, and let none of you imagine that in possessing these things he possesses what belongs to another, for it is a perpetual law amongst all men that when a city is taken from an enemy, both the persons and the property of the inhabitants belong to the captors. You will not therefore possess what you have unjustly, but whatever you suffer the people to retain it will be from benevolence that you do not take it away.*

One almost hears the Kaiser himself—"the greatest thanks are due to the gods for having granted to us to

* Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, B vii., C 5.

attain those things of which we thought ourselves worthy," a sentiment worthy of the sublime modesty of Pan-Germanism, but with the trifling difference, Cyrus had entered into his kingdom, whilst Pan-Germanism is only about to do so when we and a few other trifles are cleared out of the way. But do not think for one moment that we would class a hero like Cyrus with the modern treacherous exponents of the cult. Cyrus played the game. His was a world of war. His ethics were the ethics of the age—possession is to the strong. No other morality had ever been taught. "When Croesus for his glory showed Solon his great treasures of gold, Solon said to him, 'If another king come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.' " * That was the only law governing nations—the law of the strong.

And we pass from the kingdom of Cyrus, but still we find no change in the ethical conception of society. We pass through the great Greek era, with its marvellous poetry and art, but with no change in social idealism. The Greek demands freedom for himself, as every strong man has done, but he will not concede it. Look at the silver mines of Athens worked by slave labour. Was ever more appalling fate? Long narrow shafts in which to dig, and dig, until death released the victim. So with their subject cities and islands. Their rule was a tyranny as despotic as that of the Persian whose empire they had destroyed. Thus one conquering race comes and goes, all steps no doubt in the procession of humanity, but we see little demarcation between the epochs. There is little to differentiate between that old Babylonian monarchy and its mighty successors; the same law prevails, the law of brute force. But in some respects a subtle change seems to have been taking place—maybe the tale of civilization is being taken up by different races—and we leave man in the younger day of the world intense, fervent, enthusiastic, to find him become bored, agnostic, and

* Bacon's *Apophthegms*.

with little concern for higher things. What has your agnosticism done for you, demands the older Roman of the Greek, but to make you cowards and slaves? But in the end the old Greek spirit has subdued its master, and we find the old order closing in, submerged in a sea of indifference. Probably no sentence more succinctly sums up the position than Gibbon's famous *mot*—"The people thought all religions equally true, the philosophers thought all equally false, and the magistrates thought all equally useful." *

Yes, indeed, of indifference the veritable apotheosis. In its ideal, the teaching of Epicurus is no ignoble cult; in its degeneracy, its *carpe diem*, its "let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die," it has become a noxious exhalation to poison humanity. It is, as we are told of Athens by St. Paul, a world seeking some new thing when a new idea, new sensation, new thrill has become the *summum bonum* of existence in a life gone blasé. Victorious wars have so crowded the capital with captives and slaves that man is now of less account than the brute that perishes, and to tickle a jaded palate craving for excitement, nothing but the last dread terror itself will suffice:

I see before me the gladiator lie,

The arena swims around him, he is gone:
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch
who won.

He heard it, but he heeded not, his eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far away;
He reck'd not of the life he lost nor prize,
But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,
There were his young barbarians all at play,
There was their Dacian mother—he their sire,
Butchered to make a Roman holiday—
All this rushed with his blood. Shall he expire
And unavenged? Arise, ye Goths, and glut your ire! †

* But only true for a comparatively short period of man's history.

† *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, iv., cxi., cxii.

Thus we ring down the curtain on the old world, militancy has reached its fulness, and the world is outraged. And now we hear the voice that has filled our age: "Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings, and not one of them is forgotten before God?" And if this is true of the smallest of His creatures, shall it not be true of man? And now we hear the first whisper of democracy; it is its irresistible conclusion, MAN SHALL NO MORE EXPLOIT HIS FELLOW MAN. "Ye are of more value than many sparrows"; you are a man, you are one of God's own creatures.

In this society we rightly avoid all theological dogma, but "never spake man like this man" is a world's verdict. Whether *post hoc* or *propter hoc*, whether prophet who makes his age, or prophet who voices his age, still here is the central fact with which we all agree, with that voice the birth of a new era is coincident. The reaction from militancy, the reaction from indifference has begun, never to end until the whole world, however it regard the teacher, shall accept the doctrine which He taught. Man shall not find his happiness in the exploitation of another's life is from henceforth to be the governing force of a new humanity.

But a lengthy period is to elapse before in its entirety this is to be accomplished. The seed thus sown is to fall into the ground and die, and many a century is to come and go before the full harvest is garnered in; man has not yet learnt to be free; freedom is an idea wholly foreign to his conceptions, especially freedom for another, and time must elapse for so great a change in thought to mature and become a reality. And in this change the new faith is to play a great part. Man is no longer to be the chattel of his fellow, he is a living soul, one of God's own elect. Well was the faith preached, and with its propagation grew the ideal, that to hold another—a brother in the faith—in bondage, was an offence against heaven itself. But before freedom can become general, not only must it have made its way as an accepted proposition, but

conditions also must have been evolved in which it can live and thrive. We have seen that militancy was the necessary outcome of certain local conditions, and, given them again, militancy must revive, *e.g.* in the case of Germany, which has forced vast armaments on an unwilling Europe.

So with freedom: before it could come into its own the ground had to be diligently prepared to receive it. In this we see religious thought doing mighty work: it has to change man's survey of life. At first it would seem that militancy has but found a new channel for its expression in a theocratic dominancy claiming an absolutism greater even than its own. But this is not so. The dominancy was there, but the underlying principle was altogether different. One based its power on might alone. The other claimed sovereignty as exponent of God's will on earth. In one the power was that of brute force alone; in the other it was moral, having for its foundation, what is right. Perhaps there was not as much difference in the way the power was exercised as in the principle on which it was based, but for all that it was a mighty step forward in the progress of the world. Right, however to find expression, was recognized by one of the greatest of world powers as the only source of its authority. No doubt much wrong has been done in the name of right, but that is but a temporary excrescence: what is of utmost consequence is that right shall be the shrine to which universal tribute shall be brought. So, to determine what is right in many a case is far from easy, but important as it is, it is of little importance compared with the resolution that right must be the governing force of life. And so, theocracy having well done its part, we find a strict delimitation of its functions is to be determined. As a moral force it is also to go on from strength to strength, but meantime, as regards temporal power, democracy is now to work out its own salvation by the strength of its own right arm.

And now we are within measurable distance of the

printing of the first book, the Mazarin Bible, by Guthenburg in 1455, followed immediately by the Psalter of Faust, of famous, or shall we say of infamous, memory; and from henceforth the new power—the democratic—is to take and keep the stage. The ethical teaching of 1,500 years before is now beginning to mature, and western civilization, like a giant refreshed, awakes from its sleep of a thousand years with new thought, new vigour, and new ideals. We have had the old world, followed by its modern example, ravaging, enslaving, and destroying, asking but one justification—"We have the power, it is our will," and as they did they expected to be done by. We have the new world and the divine right of manhood is recognized by strong and weak alike. We can understand the strong and vigorous demanding this right for themselves—this is consonant with human nature the world over—but the concession of it is the amazing feature of these times. Our great Rebellion, the French Revolution, the American War of Independence were by strong men demanding this right for themselves, as also our present struggle; but the terrible war between the North and South—for what was it? To give such right to a servile race. People say that the North was not animated by purely unmixed motives. What nation or man ever was? But if there had been no slavery there had been no war.* That war was the call of an insistent democracy—No man shall find his happiness in the exploitation of another's life. And the North would extend this doctrine to the negro himself—the negro, reputed descendant of Ham, accursed to serve his fellow—and to-day the South joins hands and says, "It was well done."

To us now writing, time, like distance, enables us to

*Of this there is no doubt. But for slavery separation would never even have been thought of. What is of more doubt is whether the South would not itself have given up slavery in a very short time, as it was so foreign to the whole genius of the people.

mass our pictures and see mighty events in their true perspective. And so it seems that when a future historian comes to tell the story of our epoch, what will stand out with glorious brilliance will be this war—the first war of man fought to establish an ideal. And this glorious wave of democracy spread to our land. It is with little satisfaction that we can look on the official attitude of our country, but the heart of our people was right. The suffering of the combatants was terrible, but it did not end with them. Here in our own Lancashire and district the distress was very great. The hungry forties have been a nightmare to one generation of workers, as this cotton famine has proved to another. Industrious, skillful, through no fault of their own, mill hands by the thousand suddenly found themselves out of work and in want of bread. The rest of the country did what it could, but the suffering was keen, and it lasted year in, year out. Still, all the while, the South were as anxious to send us their cotton as we were to receive it, and what alone stood between was the blockade of the North. It was the North who said you shall not send your cotton. It was the North who said to our operatives you shall not work. It was the North who condemned them to penury and want, and yet to a soul those same operatives prayed God to send success to the North. Their government might have doubts, they had none; and in the North they saw a *truly* chosen people fighting the battle of humanity. Personally I have no doubt that the same motives animated the people of the North, and that nothing but the exaltation of a great cause could have carried them through the early days of stress and disaster; but be it as it may, only one thought animated this staunch body of their sympathizers. In trial, suffering, starvation, and misery the new democracy was true to itself, proving itself the mightiest power of our times to secure the progress of the world. And against this rock—for rock it has proved—Germany has hurled itself.

And yet have we other landmarks to note in the

progress of humanity. In that same war, with official sympathies and selfish calculation all for the South, we did a wrong, a bitter wrong, when we allowed the *Alabama* to sail from this our port of Liverpool. Magnificent our citizen who redeemed it and proved that we were not afraid of doing what was right. Detractors say that he was afraid of war. Well, be it as it may, for one I dissent from the statement; but the precedent has been followed by one who is not afraid of war. As truly great—because he puts first the honour of his country's name; because they have struck hands; because it is right—President Wilson has declared that the Panama Treaty has been made and must be kept. These are truly great signs full of promise for the years to be.

We thus get some conception of the vast forces now confronted. On the one hand the new world doctrine of what is right; on the other, the old world doctrine—all things to the strong. On one hand a scrap of paper is the supreme consideration; on the other hand the weight of the big battalions. Both causes are well championed, but it is not a little sad that the cause of militancy should thus have been championed by Germany. In the role of peaceful conqueror she had the world at her feet. Her thought, her commerce, her children, had achieved triumphs that might have satisfied the most expectant, and in the science of race culture she was proving herself to be the pioneer of mankind. Problems that trouble humanity were being solved by her with no little success, and her future was full of even greater promise. All nations were ready to admire her, and to hold her in high regard. But no; a blight seems to rest upon her from the very way her empire was welded into one by blood and iron by Bismarck, that man of the sword. Even now it is doubtful if peaceful evolution would not have made the German Empire more wholly one than all the famous campaigns by which it was united. And now, built up by the sword, it has grown by the sword, and her people still delight in the sword. And

yet what word has ever proved more terribly true than that he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword. And this must be so. When the sword is the foundation of empire, appeal to the sword on every occasion is its first instinct. And for years this has been the pleasing habit of Germany. Her sword has never ceased to rattle in its scabbard. It may be that she has not intended to draw it; it may even be that on this occasion she did not intend to draw it—she says so—though this seems incredible—but sooner or later the inevitable happens, and like some mad thing of evil, as if itself endowed with life, it flashes in the light, the scabbard is thrown away, and the world is involved in war.

And the world says that her sword shall threaten its liberties no more. Germany would cloud the issue; she would have it that it is we who threaten the liberties of mankind. But mankind is not to be deceived. Mankind knows that, even if we had the will, we have not the power. We have no army for such purpose. Our navy is strong, but as has been well said, it is not a sword to attack, but only a shield to defend. So mankind knows that our empire is but a voluntary association, of which the binding force is liberty alone. In a war of defence we unite as one man; a war of aggression would find us with more critics than guns.

And now we see how mighty is that spiritual force to which President Wilson has paid such tribute. However acquired in the past, our empire to-day is such that not one member would leave it. No sword threatens, no rifle coerces; on the contrary, there is not a sword nor rifle that is not ready to be grasped in its defence—and the one principle that unites us all is not community of interest, real though this may be, but the bond of good faith. To-day, in many an oriental bazaar, "*Kalimat Ingleesi*"—on the word of an Englishman—has passed into an oath. And ever may it be our proud boast as a nation and as individuals that our word is as good as our bond, that

we are as he that sweareth to his hurt and changeth not. Not on our wealth; not on our might; but on this is our empire built, and on this shall its foundations be made sure. It is not in crushing our enemy; it is not in destroying his fleet; it is not in annihilating his army that our safety and that of our allies must be sought, but in being true to our destiny, being true to the world, and, above all, in being true to ourselves. We may sweep away this peril, others will confront us—the road to happiness will never be all downhill—now as always, life will be a battle, and victory will be to the strong. But let us show the same united front in facing insidious dangers from within—danger from too much wealth; danger from too much ease; danger from too little necessity for strenuous effort—let us face these as we have faced our dangers from without, and our flag shall still ever bravely float over an empire of the free, and, above all, over an empire where no tear is shed in its upholding; where no sigh is heaved in its maintenance; but an empire which in its very prosperity ensures and adds to the prosperity, progress, and well being of all mankind.

CHAPTER IV.

DOES TALK COUNT? *

THE greater issues of mankind are determined, not by voting and majority divisions, but by blood and iron. Thus Bismarck, in one of his sledge-hammer sentences, expressed his contempt for talk, or the monkey-chatter we are pleased to call talk; and now for a moment I would like to consider with you this famous epitome of thought.

And therefore it is, Mr. President, I would doubly thank you on this occasion, first for your kind hospitality, and next for thus giving me the opportunity of ventilating a subject which has some what perplexed me: briefly, does talk count?

On the face of it, it would seem a strange query. If on one thing the world seems agreed, it is on the importance of talk: the delightfulness of talk—especially our own—it takes the wisest of an age to revel in silence—and the incessancy of talk. What differentiates man from the brute? Talk. Man from man? Talk. What is mightier than the sword? Talk—written talk. And so we agree, and then the strident Bismarck blast: "The greater issues," etc., etc. And so we ask, "Does talk count?" Mind, we do not ask, "Does talk pay?" Of course talk pays. Nothing pays so well as the paying sort of talk, above all the talk that gives good reasons for bad actions. The very vocation of a lawyer you gibe at me. Be it so. But how of the journalist, the professor, the politician, the theologian, who all equally would bask in the golden rays of eloquence rewarded. Of course

*A paper read before the Rotary Club, Liverpool Section.

talk pays; but in the greater issues of mankind—and to these we would limit our inquiry—in the march of the universe, does it count? In the roll of the centuries is man one whit the worse, one whit the better, for one word said or left unsaid? To go behind talk is another matter. Talk is the expression of thought; thought is the very man himself, and undoubtedly thought counts. His talk may be the man, or may not, but thought is our ego, our mind, our very self. Thought may be enshrined in a robust, magnificent temple, or prisoned in some sickly frame, but it is the man behind we love or hate. Undoubtedly the man behind counts, counts to the last farthing, just as the gold in the bank counts with notes issued against it. The gold there, and little matter whether the note be dirty or ugly, it commands its face value. And the gold not there, and no matter how beautiful the design how spotless the issue, it is but paper—still paper, nothing more. So with man. What of his talk? Is the gold behind, or is it not? So of his appearance. So of his manners: manners maketh the man—the surface man. Still all-important—is the gold behind? And in this, talk, manners, and appearance are one; they are the outward expression of man, and they repel or attract exactly so far as we believe them to be the true expression of the true man himself. But in the day of trial, in the day of stress alone, is this truth made manifest. Then the joy when friend is proved, or gold so unexpected is discovered; and it is, oh for the bitterness of disillusion when our once idols prove but potter's clay.

Yes, it is the gold behind the note, the gold and nothing else that counts, the gold that finds expression in acts. Tell me what a man has done, and I will tell you what he will do. Such the commonplace of the business world. 'You will tell me his talk!' 'Something easier,' the sneering rejoinder. And with this conclusion there is probably not the slightest disagreement, and yet pertinently you will ask, 'But after all, is this more than shifting the

causa causans one step backwards, and nothing else? Grant that thought is all-important: but whence thought? Is not talk parent of thought? Is not man himself child of talk? Thought finds expression in talk, but only itself to be begotten of talk. Hence the conundrum very much of the old order—the owl or the egg—which first? the owl! From what egg? The egg! From what owl? But the Bismarck school will have none of this conundrum. Thought may find expression in talk, or may not. The silent foe is the deadly foe, and in the begetting of thought, talk may be a factor but no very great one. Blood and iron determine the greater issues of mankind. Blood and iron are the genesis of thought. The clash of man with man makes man. Talk make man? they ask derisively. No, it is things done, things suffered, things burnt into a man's very being by a past makes man, makes thought.

In its enunciation the German philosophy of force was logical, practical, and complete, but onesided. It never grasped the true inwardness of the Christian inspiration. It only saw in Christianity a scramble after wealth, in which the professor was no mean proficient, and a refuge for the poltroon, the shirker, the weak, and the timid, who in its tenets would find justification for the shirking of duty. 'That child is too good to live' is an observation founded on experience. Its virtue is often to be traced to want of energy to be naughty. So with youth. So with man and so with peoples. The world's history is full of coward nations who would substitute fine sentiments for hard blows, and in the end, in the progress of man, the world wants none of such. And thus the German saw us as it giped at our Christianity—cult of the coward, cult of the talker too decadent to fight. And he was full of the nobility of sacrifice—the sacrifice that war entailed. Happily his diagnosis of the English race was wrong, and he failed to realize that in the Christian even there might be a devotion higher than the sacrifice of others—the sacrifice of self.

And SELF-SACRIFICE is the key-stone of the Christian arch. True—greatly true—the Bismarckian theory—the clash of man with man makes man; but it is not all the truth. There is another power as potent—SELF-SACRIFICE. It is self-sacrifice that illumines a dingy world; it is self-sacrifice that moves mankind; it is self-sacrifice that makes humanity one with God; and, above all, self-sacrifice is the gold that ensures that the talker's note shall never be dishonoured. The love of hearing ourselves talk is an instinct; the passion to hear ourselves talk is a disease; the hearing one's own voice is abundant reward for any effort made. But the silent worker, the faithful worker, the man who does and loves and suffers is the man who makes his world and leads his fellow man one step nearer heaven. Yes, these are the two great powers of the world—blood and iron and self-sacrifice.

And does talk count? Of talk divorced from both we emphatically say, No. Talk divorced from both is worthless as the wind that blows. Talk backed by force—well, such talk is little in evidence save of the camouflage order; well, such talk is the clash of man with man, and is only to be met by talk similarly so enforced. And talk not so backed, nor yet backed by the gold in the coffers of the bank, is not only worthless in the world's progress, but often defeats its own ends. Why to-day is Socialism so weak as a real force? I mean true Socialism. I do not mean the bastard movement which poses as such, and is but another phase of the eternal war between the "Haves" and the "Have nots," but that Socialism which is full of many true and beautiful thoughts and conceptions. And why, as a power, is it dead as a mummy? Because its most ardent enthusiasts are all prepared to reduce it to practice—when? When others do the same. Well, no road Godward was ever built that way. "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." Thus the mightiest movement of the ages. And this wanting, had there ever been a Christ religion? So Buddha! Mendicant and outcast, never such mis-

sionary but king and spoilt darling of fortune to the end, and I doubt Buddhism had ever swayed an Eastern world.

Thus we cursorily analyse talk, and is not here the key why so much talk goes for so little? Largely a man who talks establishes his own standard of gold and dross, and by his own standard he is judged. Is he a lawyer? Well! full as he is of fine sentiments, he so obviously speaks to his brief that the world smiles, and let him but be a decent fellow along recognized lines and he will pass muster. So the philosopher. He is an inquirer into truth, and does not pose as an example of truth, and a like kindly indulgence is extended to him. With the politician the world begins to be more exigent: begins to demand some parity of life and talk; whilst in the sphere of religion it will admit of no compromise whatever. In this, above all, a man makes his own canon, and must live it or his talk be a power for evil and not for good. And the Church political deplors its waning influence. Well, how much of the gold of self-denial in its coffers? How of the Christ test, the Buddha test applied to its cult and propaganda? The one craving of man to-day is for a religion that is lived, not talked. And so far as there are tens of thousands of hard-working, hard-living, self-sacrificing ministers and clergy who do live their talk, the Christ Church has not lost its influence. Yes, happily the Church is not its hierarchies, its champion bruisers, its theologians, but these humble workers who, by their simple faith and lives, keep the lamp of God still bright.

And yet agreeing all this, insistantly we demand, has talk, as talk, no mighty power? What of the talk that checks our heart, or makes it race? Is it not mostly thought playing on thought already there, and the talk is it more than the harpist striking the strings of passion already vibrating with a like emotion? At times talk does seem all-powerful and very dreadful when man sees red and is urged to plunder. But the predatory

instinct is primeval and deepseated and this it is which is very dreadful, not the flaming demagogue who, after all, is only out to turn an honest penny for himself—honest, his purpose is so transparent. And here the safety-valve to prevent an explosion. His hearers weigh him to an ounce and know that in the whole of his composition there is not one grain of gold, not one grain of self-sacrifice, which alone would make him a prophet and a danger. No, the danger is not our talker, he is our security; but as already observed, our danger is the silent man who knows how to organize the forces of evil and whose first intimation of his deadly purpose were he untrammelled in his acts would be a dagger in our hearts. From him the talker delivers us.

But here, with dissension to the fore, obviously we are on the verge of those greater issues of mankind which are decided not by talk and majority divisions, but by blood and iron. When the gloves are off force alone decides.

All this, no doubt, is but the fringe of the subject, but at the same time this attitude to talk is essentially British, and it would seem is the right attitude. Certainly it is far more British than German or Bismarckian, for with all his expressed contempt for talk Bismarck never dare let it have free play. And I go further, for as a race I think we may be proud of this our attitude of fearlessness of talk. It is an attitude born not of weakness and fear but of magnanimity and conscious strength. We do not wish to suppress talk. The most precious heritage we possess is the rooted conviction that in the end right must prevail. It was this alone carried us through all the early years of our terrible war. We knew our motive was pure, our heart was true. We knew a perverse, unjust, cruel—aye, devilish—war had been forced upon us, and we could not believe it possible that in the end such wickedness could be allowed to prevail. And so, with rarest exceptions, the whole nation rang true. As for those on the broad seas and those at the front,

words fail us to tell their devotion, their cheerfulness and courage, whilst in those at home, made in the same mould, the same driving power was the conviction that right must be done. Some will have it that our millions were only bribed to work by huge wages. Not so. Whatever the talk with a vast majority, a glowing patriotism born of this consciousness of right alone carried them through years of strenuous toil. We are far from a perfect race, but with every confidence I say it, we are the justest race the world has ever known. Hence our attitude to talk. The right shall prevail. Talk or no talk, in the end right shall be triumphant. This is the beacon of our policy. We cannot believe that in the end right can go under. So let man talk. If he makes wild points, false points, mad points, he will be answered, and in the end it will be his own case that he will damage. Nothing is more disastrous to a cause than the bad points of a foolish and intemperate friend. On the other hand, let him be speaking the truth, even if in wild and whirling words, and we would know it that right may be done. Undoubtedly it is not easy to determine what is right in many a case, especially when we differ on those fundamental principles on which right depends; but in the abstract, as a nation, as a whole, we do desire to do what is right and just. And in this spirit, proved in the terrible days of stress and war, is our assurance for the future. And as love of right was our guiding star when in death-grips with our foe, so that same love of right shall be the sheet-anchor of our safety in the days to be. The greater issues of mankind may be determined by blood and iron, but in the end the power of might has also to bow the knee to the greater power of justice and of right.

CHAPTER IV. (continued).

WORDS AND THEIR FUNCTION.

ANOTHER serious difficulty in the way of effective talk is the want of precision of meaning in the words used. Often as used they cease to be intelligible. The function of words is the exchange of thought between one mind and another. That thought may be exchanged it is essential that the word used shall connote the same notion in the mind of both user and hearer. When this is the case there is exchange of thought between two minds. But when otherwise the bark of a dog or the mew of a cat is as valuable a medium for thought transference. As far as thought transference is concerned a word with any meaning is a word with no meaning. Thus a word like 'capital' (which a House of Commons spent a valuable afternoon in war time wrangling over) is of no great value for exchange of ideas. In these cases the argument usually degenerates into squabbling as to whose use of the word is correct. And so imperfect a medium for exchange of thought is language that chop logic can always take exception to any statement by arguing as to the meaning of a word. For words to be effective they must be used only between those anxious to understand one another. It is hardly possible to make any statement in words that is not susceptible of more than one meaning. This it is which makes law writing so verbose, wearisome, tautological, and cumbersome generally. It is written, not for those anxious to

understand, but for those determined to misunderstand if a possible chance be given. So with most debates. One is speaking to people not anxious to find out what you really mean, but to find lapses which they can make capital of. The Germans have tried to give precision to words by compounding them. Whether they have made a success is doubtful. They have a great contempt for our monosyllabic language, but probably preciseness is more to be found in our system than in theirs. In the end every mental conception goes back to some notion of some fact appreciated by one of our five senses. Conceptions which do not so go back when reduced to simple language usually become nonsense pure and simple. Every science has technical terms, its words of art. These words are to express shortly ideas of which they are a succinct summary. Take the words "parallel lines," as used by Euclid. Challenged as to the meaning of "parallel," and it can be given in short, precise words with a meaning not in doubt. And so the grandest word used by every philosopher ought to be translatable into plain, simple, monosyllabic words which every one can understand. It is to avoid being cumbersome the big word is used and alone ought to be used. Undoubtedly those who plume themselves on their superiority because of the strangeness of the words they use are legion. To some, to use a word which no one else understands is the acme of intellectual supremacy. As a matter of fact the savage is more intelligent when he tries to impress his enemy with the terrors of his tom-tom or the horror of his cries. If words are not understood, why use them? They are more impressive when not understood, as one word artist frankly and cynically confessed. He knew his audience. One incident: it was the close of an election campaign. "And now," said the great man to his brother candidate, "now if we say nothing we are all right," and for more than an hour he and his brother candidate spoke vigorously and no doubt did say nothing.

CHAPTER V.

WHITHER.*

It was at our last meeting you did me the honour to elect me as your President, and when I consider the roll of those who have preceded me in such office—including, among others, our illustrious fellow-citizen, William Roscoe himself—I find it difficult to put into words how deeply I appreciate the kindness you have done me.

And now, at the opening of this session, I know that first and foremost you would have me voice the deep gratitude we all feel to that Mighty Power which has brought us in safety through the terrible dangers of the past five years.

Far other might have been our meeting to-night. What might have been! And we shudder at the possibilities. But Providence, in its infinite goodness, has seen fit to bring us safely through the war, and though anxieties of peace still beset us they are restfulness to the anxieties we have now put aside. Victory ours, nothing really matters. Folly or wisdom may mean years of more or less unsettlement, but little else. A mighty world-change has taken place, is still taking place. The transition will be accomplished, but whether with creaking and groaning or in amity and peace is alone in the balance. The flood of life is moving forward, slowly, maybe, but irresistible as an Alpine glacier. Who the engineer to stay one of those ice floes as inch by inch it travels to the sea? And who the magician to bid life's river change its course

* An address read before the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society at the opening of the one hundred and ninth Session, October, 1919.

in its passage through eternity? If he but round off a few snags, dynamite a few boulders, that it may run more smoothly, he will rank as the benefactor of his kind.

And had we gone under, again nothing would have mattered. Our tale told, we should have ceased to exist. The Incas of Peru, high lords of a proud and haughty race, rule half a world. To-day, draggled slaves of disaster, its people flee the light of the sun, and representative of the once god-like Montezuma we see a tramp or some beggar in rags. In their songs—songs of unutterable pathos and sadness—do we alone find trace of this once mighty people of the past. And such the change of but some few hundred years. They could not thrive in subjection. Such their nature, such ours. Overwhelmed, and our proud Anglo-Saxon spirit had also been numbered with the things that have been.

And now to-night for a moment I would like to speculate on what the morrow may hold for us, and speculate a little further as to how far, if at all, the moulding of that morrow may be in our hands. Can we even bring that morrow nearer by one hour by anything we say or do? I know as individuals we seem conscious of a power to go our own whither, do our own will, and yet as years pass by do we not seem more and more as a child set to journey between two steep precipices. It can, as an irresponsible whim prompts it, now run a little up this side, now the other, but in the end to be returned to the course marked out for it by the iron hand of nature. Or another simile. In the Hartz Mountains or the watershed of the Danube, from many a hill wells a little streamlet. And it rushes along, so fussy and important, so free, so bright, so joyous, so sparkling, so individual and independent. And as it leaps from crag to crag in the very ecstasy of living, as it were, free agency personified, it is joined by many another like little rivulet and on they all pour in torrent together until they join and become one with the mighty slow moving river,

making its resistless way through soil and rock, mountain and sea, until it in turn loses itself in the waters of the still mightier ocean.

And of that river that little stream is still a constituent part. But where, we ask, its will or power to go its own way, as in early days it seemed to do? And thus ourselves: our little sojourning here until we also are one with the great ocean of life.

And so the great flood of life as it wends its way into the vast ocean of eternity. Has there never been a parting of the ways where it has been in its own choice which channel it will take? The winning or losing of the war was but the tossing of a coin. Would no reversal of fortune have varied the flow of existence? Has no such cataclysmic happening ever rewritten the story of what might have been? Or has no man, however titanic, ever made his age or even helped to fashion his age, or never done more than voice his age? And yet who is the happier philosopher? The deepest thinker? No, but he who best puts into words the nebulous thought of his times. And the measure of his acceptance is fair index of what such thought must have been. We honour those with whom we agree, and thus whatever its machinery a nation is mostly represented by those who express its character and ideals. In a crisis communities usually find the leader they may reasonably expect. When does a great nation ever want a really great exponent of its will, and if he be wanting, where seek the explanation? A nation sold to the worship of mammon will find its high priests chief amongst its princes; and if in time of stress no high soul finds hearing, why should it be otherwise? What seed flourishes in uncongenial soil? To be a leader a man must be in tune with his times. A little latitude may be his, but it is but little. It is the prevailing thought that sways humanity, the thought born and burnt into the very life of man by experience in the past. And this thought is the soul of a nation—is the soul of the world. For good or bad, in the end it is this

thought, the thought of the ages, which is all irresistible in its power. Individually, we may have some power of volition; collectively in the aggregate, we know but law alone.

And "Whither" tends this thought to-day? We would know, not that we have any great hopes of largely modifying it, if at all, but simply that by an understanding mind we may make it just a shade pleasanter and more easy for us who have to tread the road. And first our query—Whence this thought; this spirit of humanity, this driving power of the world? What moulds it in its turn? we ask. How is it modified or varied? And here we note how in common with everything of which we have sensation this thought is also subject to ever-recurrent change. The flood of life, like the ocean itself, seems subject to vast ebbs and flows, and almost with the same rhythmic precision. Perhaps better analogy, the very wave of such ocean. On the crest of a terrific Atlantic roller we look down into the abyss below; now in the trough we mark the mountains of waters towering above. And so mankind, and so his story oft repeated. Now on the summit he rushes down into the depths; now in the depths once more he ascends on high, but once more as prelude to yet another descent. One variation—one happy variation—must we mark; for whilst the trough is not so deep the crest of each successive stage has mostly been just a trifle higher. But it is only with the lapse of thousands of years that these culminating points and points of extreme depression are to be observed and measured; and, coming to particulars, perhaps the earliest trace of some such movement is to be found in the skull of that Neanderthal man, a cast of which is to be seen in every museum. And we mark the jaws. No canine or incisor teeth. What a story we can reconstruct as they tell us of a peaceful race, a grain eating race, probably an agricultural race; and then we fill in details of their doom! There is a rush of a wild, fierce, meat-eating horde—ourselves of the past—and they were driven off

the face of the earth. Savagery again comes into its own. Then we pass to the Stone Age, relatively modern. It tells of progress, though it is not the latest stage which always shows most advancement. We are now in the infancy of our own times. Man has at last learnt how to make tools and implements of fighting. The world is now his. He is the master animal. Beasts once his terror now admit his sway. Life is hard, bitterly hard, but it now has possibilities. It is a long cry from a stone hammer to a Vicker's Vimy plane, but the difference is in degree, not in kind. The remains of that age may be crude, but they are far from wanting in vigour. No weak hand, no feeble brain made those flint arrow heads and tools. Rather it is amazing that with so poor machinery they should have done so much. But skull remains indicate convolutions and brain capacity little if at all inferior to our own. They were fine workers, those stone-using ancestors of ours. And then in the dancing shadows and fanciful cloud-pictures of a past we see traces of the marvels of the amazing civilizations of Central America. Here, in archaic form we find the archetype of the inimitable tracery work of India; of the beautiful key pattern of Greece, and the wonderful pyramid of Egypt. And so old are these civilizations that by them even this of Egypt is comparatively modern. And all passed away as a story that is told. But as regards our own hemisphere, we see the Bronze Age followed by the Iron Age; great eras of advancement, until in the twilight of the awakening morn of history we come upon a civilization not so unlike our own in this selfsame Egypt of the past. On this let us dwell for a moment. A Bacon would not have found conditions so very different from what he knew. He would have found a kindred spirit in a mighty race. And in the flood of life we are at a point of culmination and it is for this reason that evidence of its greatness has come down to us. The more worthless a period, the more worthless, the more fleeting its work. But now, as the past discovers its secrets, it is a

striking picture it unfolds to our wondering eyes. Towering through the mist of the centuries we see the great pyramid of Cheops, and in its way almost as thrilling the wonderful statue of Chephren. They are the climax of science and inspiration. They are so great that they have hardly been surpassed by the greatest works of a later era. We look on the statue of Chephren—its calm, cold, massive, quiet greatness and dignity, and we ask where has it been excelled even by a Phidias himself? And the great pyramid: what romance of mathematics has been evolved from its measurements alone! For standard of length—no less than the axis of the world itself. Divided into 5,000,000 parts, and you have a working scale by which the most perfect plan can be laid out in every detail. We measure the four sides of the base. They measure 365 units and a fraction, or one unit for each day. Of those 365 units make a circle and find its radius, and that radius—some 58 units—will give the height itself. But more wonders lurk behind. As we and our planetary system revolve round the sun so does the solar system revolve round one of the still mightier suns of the Pleiades. For a complete revolution it takes some 258 centuries. Now measure the diagonals of the base of the pyramid and together they will be found to measure 258 units, or one unit for each century.* And yet another marvel. We have seen that the height is some 58 units, referring to the axis of the world as the standard of measurement. The ratio of this height to one half of a diameter of the base is as 10 to 9. Raise 10 to the ninth power and multiply the height by the result, and you get the approximate mean distance of the earth from the sun, some ninety odd million miles. Enthusiasts give calculations to an inch; the sceptic has doubts as to what is the true base. So he rightly points out that the

* The royal vault, or king's chamber, is on a level with the fiftieth course of masonry, the perimeter of which is also 258 units. Still, it is a high chamber, with corresponding margin to select from.

form of a pyramid is such that between the limits of the perimeter of the base at the bottom and zero at the apex you can obtain any line of any length you desire. Then, as to the other calculations, they are simply general properties of every square and circle, but that the original builders were aware of them is far from having been proved. But in judging that epoch it is enough for us that such a monument existed; that given one factor—the length of the base—and all the rest followed. It is the mere proportions that stagger; the relations of the measurements amongst themselves. And note, as to the length of the base, sceptic and enthusiast differ only in inches. So, of course, granting that they could calculate the length of the earth's axis, and they could easily have worked out every other result as well, thus anticipating the triumph of our most up-to-date science. And we find corroboration of the high level attained by them in one direction by the similar high level attained in another direction in the rival valley of the Euphrates. This time it is in their law that we find how far the human mind had advanced. In the code of Hammurabi, dating B.C. 2300, we find a scientific compilation never excelled, not even by the code of Napoleon. Some of the principles still find acceptance amongst ourselves. But one amusing example. We allow a dog one free bite. The code of Hammurabi allowed his ox one free push. "But if an ox has pushed a man, by pushing made known his vice, and the owner have not blunted his horn, has not shut up his ox, and that ox has gored a man of gentle birth and caused him to die, he shall pay half a mina of silver. If a gentleman's servant, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver" (ss 251-2). What a ring of modernity in this most ancient of texts, by comparison how puerile many a later compilation! In the best we find hopeless confusion between laws of ceremonial, laws of moral, and laws delimiting rights. Down to the latest periods we find ecclesiastical, canon, civil, and criminal law jumbled together in one unscientific hodge-podge. Here alone we find the same

firm line drawn as by our greatest jurists of to-day. So much for the construction. In the respective reparation to be made for masters and slaves we find evidence of its broad-minded humanity as well. When in any land has one of the people been valued relatively at so high a rate?

Thus we vision an age in its greatness, from now on, and man once more is plunging into the trough of the waters. Some ground is to be held, some material progress marked, the depths are not quite so deep; but thousands of years are to elapse before a like level is to be again reached and in part surpassed by the Greek in the day of his glory. And confirmation of this tremendous swing back; we now see him emerging as it were from a barbaric past, and it is only now that we begin to credit that in an unknown day before that past there was an art almost to equal and a science to even surpass its greatest achievements.

And in its turn the Greek supremacy is also to pass away. Its days have been but few as we count days; but it has given new canons of beauty to the world, new ideals of perfection to mankind. And then: a few short centuries and the noble gentleman of Pericles is the contemptible sycophant we find him when under the sway of the Roman. Masters have to be conciliated—can a slave be too abject? And what if we also had been driven to placate a German bully—or die?

And now indeed it is down, down, down, until we are in the depths of our dark ages, probably the lowest point of retrogression reached by humanity in historical times. Never were man and his works more worthless. Even Christianity itself is perverted by his debased outlook on life. Not least of the mysteries we would understand are these dark days following the decadence of Rome. Had Rome in her domination killed all other life and virility, and, a dead thing herself, left none to fill her place? Would this also have been the result of a Teuton triumph? Rome rotten, decayed—never a world more hopeless than in

these hours of her degradation. And a German tyranny! The same debacle of mankind. Poets have sung the Augustan age as they would the glorious day of the Kaiser; but the one as the other would have been no bridal day of an awakening morn, but the swan song of an expiring civilization. But it was not to be. For some thousand years or more, mankind, having emerged from that dark period has been on the rising flood of tremendous achievement. Centuries are to pass and they are to be centuries of growth and not decline, and the world of to-day is not the world the Roman ground under his heel. The Teuton thought to follow in his steps, and that mankind, a rotten berry, was to be his for the gathering. And he stretched out his hand to take it; but it was a burr of steel he laid hold of, and it pierced him and destroyed him in the day of his greatest pride. In the tremendous days of the war every ally proved himself worthy of the proudest day of his past. The Italian remembered that he was a Roman; the Frenchman would have rejoiced his Napoleon; whilst an Elizabethan would have shaken hands with his children of to-day. And the smaller nations—the Belgian, the Serb, the Roumanian—they have covered themselves with glory. And so it is we have witnessed, still are witnessing, a world mounting on the waters and in this great spirit of the nations is assurance for the immediate days to be.

I know we meet at times of unprecedented social unrest the wide world over—and to us living in the swirl it is perhaps even more discomfiting than piping days of peace with a little less glorious spirit; and yet, taking a broad survey, as we are now doing, once more this comforting thought reassures us, that it is this underlying spirit that alone tells over the centuries. Yet at the same time this perplexing reflex thought disquiets—is such unrest evidence that having reached a new point of culmination the spirit of man for the time being, has exhausted itself in its supreme effort, and that from the crest of the wave we are

once more to plunge into the abysm below? It is a fair query. This rhythmic movement of thought, this rise and fall, this ebb and flow, seems the law of life. And we would ask Why? and yet the further "why"—Why our times may not prove exceptional? But the future, can it be other than the past? And we would understand this wave-like to and fro of civilization. In vain. Elusive, it ever escapes our comprehension. The problem is beyond us, so many its complications. So many factors go to make up life—its movement is resultant of so many forces. Separately we may analyse them to some extent, but would we tell what each effects in their collective action we utterly fail. Now some forces pull this way, now that; now with, now against, one another; and now a force acting in one direction yesterday will act in the entirely opposite direction to-morrow. One thing only we note with certainty—when all pull together we get results which make history. When forces all tending upwards and onwards all act together we reach a maximum point of advancement; with conditions reversed we fall back to a minimum point of retrogression.

Whilst even to tabulate these forces would be the work of a lifetime, yet we may somewhat more accurately gauge one or two of the more potent of them. Thus, first and foremost is the determination of nature to perpetuate life. This seems a law with no exception—given sustenance, and there *pro tanto* you will find life. Every living species in the earth, air, or sea, man included, unless most highly educated, will multiply and reproduce to the limit of sustenance alone. And this it is which makes our domestic problems so infinitely difficult to solve. Increase the suitable and requisite sustenance, and infallibly you will increase the corresponding life; limit, or entirely destroy such sustenance, and as surely life to the same extent will become extinct. And given life, and sustenance falling off, and there will be a fierce struggle for it amongst those who would possess it. As regards life and its

perpetuation and preservation, nature has left nothing to chance. Let there be but life and to the last gasp it will fight for existence—a fight for existence which in the past has so entirely moulded the human race. And next, given life, and the most powerful factor in its development is local conditions. The child of the arctic circle and the child of the tropics are almost as far apart in their outlook as the countries which they inhabit. Those of the temperate zone may more approximate in type, but in them also we note a great difference between the people of the hills and the people of the plains. Some would maintain that race characteristics are entirely moulded by such physical conditions. Perhaps in the first stages, but as time passes man as much makes his environment as his environment makes man. Action and reaction is noticeable and beyond contention. Above all, what differentiates between one race and another is energy and the want of it; and above all, energy seems referable to climatic conditions. Let life be easily sustained and energy is painfully non-existent. So it is sapped if life be too hard. On the other hand it is greatest where nature has to be fought and can be fought successfully. But these are but the “a, b, c’s” of the subject, and yet nowadays how dangerously we ignore them both. Life will produce to the limit of sustenance, and energy alone makes that life of any value. The trend of modern talk is to flout the one and to sap the other, and yet the story of a nation’s greatness has always been the story of its effort. Effort is essential to everything worth having. The muscle never used does not increase with rest, but atrophies, and the bone ceasing to be of service ultimately is found in rudimentary form alone. It is in effort we see the makers of the world. Tried, and they go from one success to another. Life too easy, and they fail to command even a sufficiency. Thus witness many a devastating horde. Magnificent animals we first see them, whatever else. A few generations, energy lost, and they prove more effete than those they have subdued. And their

prosperity is as evanescent. It is rare that wealth acquired by war brings lasting benefit. Their successive conquests with the loot and slaves that followed in their train, undermined the Romans with an insatiable greed that tainted their life to the last page of her story. Her people became intolerant of the slow reward of honest toil. A hardy peasant clan, and they had virtues the admiration of mankind; but from the day that Scipio dazzled them with the spoils of Carthage—from that day they were a changed race.

But it is in sustained effort that its full reward is to be found. Thus contrast Rome with the Phoenicians. The Phoenicians, never very numerous, sought prosperity in industry alone. We rarely see them as conquerors. Ruthless, maybe, to trade rivals, they were essentially fair in their relations with the rest of the world. If they wanted anything they bought it—land, for instance, which they paid for. Thus we see Carthage centuries after her foundation still paying rent for the site to the representatives of the original owners. And the result was, wherever the Phoenicians went they were welcome, for they took prosperity with them; and whilst great powers like Persia and Egypt valued them as allies, savages and natives never feared them as neighbours. And we also owe them the greatest of debts, for it was they who gave us the alphabet. And thus we see them persisting in their industrious energy century after century. Tyre in particular, built on an island off the Syrian coast, impregnable in her silver streak, for two thousand three hundred years never knew her temple profaned by foot of foreign invader. And her glory, magnificence, and wealth are told in marvellous verse by no less than the prophet Ezekiel himself. And most amazing fact of all, amazingly rich, her vast wealth never spelt her ruin. But she was no *nouveau riche* coming into a vast inheritance to dissipate it in profligacy, nor brigand loaded with plunder to fling it away in one mad whirl of pleasure, but her wealth—the still vaster accumulation of successful energy applied to the ser-

vice of mankind—she had learnt how to use and not to abuse. No doubt she loved the best side of every deal, but for all that people did deal with her and found their own advantage in so doing. She was essentially fair in all her transactions. Maybe, according to her detractors, her policy of honesty was a trade policy, but it was an enlightened policy, and a mighty step onward in the story of the world. The rewards of lying and thieving and conquest are immediate—those of honesty are a long shot, but once proved are found to be infinitely greater and more lasting. And in the end the world of to-day belongs to those who live in the morrow. "Happy the son whose father has gone to the devil" may be true in the family, but certainly it is not so with nations at large. With nations this power to live in the future—this taking a long shot—always proves triumphant; and woe betide a nation when those control its destinies who care for none of these things. Honour, rectitude, probity, fortitude, devotion, courage, self-denial, and truth are not assets as we reckon assets in the "wealth of nations," but yet are the only assets that count in our progress through eternity.

And so we envisage the attributes that go to the making of mankind, but still no nearer the "why" of this ever recurrent, this rhythmic change into which we would inquire. We only note it as of the very essence of existence. We see it in little things, in temporary things, as well as in movements extending over the ages. Birth, maturity, decay, seems a law of universal application. Now it is the child, then the man, and soon the aged, and then another in his place. Even effort seems to beget lassitude, and lassitude decay, when a new race begins the story anew. And thus backwards, forwards, upwards, downwards; now on the crest, now in the trough, seems the way of the world as the centuries roll by. Yes. . . . But for all this the world of our generation is not the world of the past. The world has made strides forward—the world is not what once it was. We may not

be able to analyse the forces controlling life, but it may be simpler to follow those more particularly associated with this progress. With movement there must be a corresponding force, can we but identify it. Again action and reaction cloud our inquiry; some will see cause where others effect, and *vice versa*. Some will credit one force with the advance, some another; and so our difficulties increase. But by a process of elimination we may simplify our problem. For the moment we may disregard such forces as in themselves seem to know no change and to have acted uniformly from the beginning, e.g. Nature's determination to perpetuate life or even the moulding of life by local conditions. And doing this at last we are left with one factor which stands apart by itself, and it is Physical Science. No power has such marked effect on man as Physical Science, and it is unlike every other force in this—it definitely progresses, and one generation commences where the last one left off. In nearly every other department of life man has very largely—not altogether—to start *de novo* in every case. Thus, for example, Metaphysics. Our reasoning is little advanced if at all on that of the ancient Greeks, and it is doubtful if their reasoning showed any marked improvement on the Egyptian of a prior era. Here, for instance, a proverb from the book of Anu, the oldest book in the world: "Never argue with him who does not know." The profundity of this advice equals anything ever *aliunde* recorded, and it dates from a time thousands of years before Christ. But physical science and immediately we are on far other ground. It thrills us as we mark its triumphs and achievements. The goal of to-day is the starting-post of the morrow. The flint-headed arrow discovered, and the relation of man and animal is changed, never again to be reversed. Man finds a new herb or food: that knowledge is not again to be lost. He domesticates animals, and the benefit continues to our day. With each discovery there is advance in material conditions and also in his outlook on life in general. He brings the sea under

tribute, he makes the land more productive, and a new standard of comfort is established. And now his fair possessions tempt the thief, and organization for self-preservation is essential. And the fundamental condition of organization is subordination, and hence class distinctions find their origin far down the ages. Then—a great step forward—man learns the mutual benefit of the interchange of commodities and thus commerce with its many ramifications. And last climax of the ancient world, the alphabet given us by the Phoenicians. Now for a while physical science stagnates, and we note a corresponding stagnation in man himself, and even China itself pauses with the rest of humanity.* Centuries pass, the earlier perhaps the more advanced, and apparently the world has reached a limit of progress. And now it is the discovery of printing, and with it once again physical science springs forward with leaps and bounds. In itself it was a magnificent invention, but above all it was priceless in preserving and facilitating every other advance. No doubt many a discovery in the past has died still-born with its discoverer for want of being recorded; but with printing this was to be so no more. And further, every inventor is kept in closest touch with what is being done by others, and thus finds many a difficulty solved for him by other brains. For example—wireless telegraphy. Pioneer in theory was our great townsman, Sir Oliver Lodge. His researches given to the world and we have continents linked up by its practical application to the needs of mankind. And the more we examine the subject the more we prove the marvellous harmony in the advancing movement of life with this progress of physical science. One is largely the index of the other; both might also be charted by the same wave line. Given progress in science and we find progress in man: and moving in

* Possibly we see in the civilization of China that of the ancient world become stationary at a high level. So her policy of isolation may be well due to her seeing a whole world relapse into barbarism.

sympathetic unison in the past, shall it be otherwise in the future? But if this is to be so, what a glorious promise for the future we have! The past few decades have been simply overwhelming in advance in science, and if man responds as fully may not all things be possible?

But—always a but—will he so respond? For the time being may not the material have outstripped the spiritual? No doubt in the aeons of time in the future as in the past the material will come into its own; but is it to be given to us in our day and generation to secure the rich prize, or through spiritual lacking are we to find it slipping through our hands? Yes, whether it is to be ours or not must depend so much upon ourselves, and this seems consonant with the reading of the past. To the individual seems largely given the free will to choose the worse or better part; to the nation to mould its own environment for the time being though in the ages the material, averaging out the forces of nature, will assert its own resistless force and alone determine the progress of mankind.

And now we inquire how far do these theoretical considerations bear upon society as we to-day find it. And first let us emphasize the enormous strides made by science and its wonderful achievements. Of all eloquent passages in literature, if eloquence is to be measured by the effect it produces, none is to be found to equal the two by Mulhall in his great dictionary of Statistics published in the year 1892, in which he enumerates the peaceful triumphs of his time.

Turning to page 6 we read:

In the United States 9,000,000 hands raise nearly as much grain as 66,000,000 in Europe. Thus it appears that, for want of implements or proper machinery there is waste of labour in Europe equal to 48 millions of peasants. In other words, one farm labourer in the United States is worth more than three in Europe.

Again, improved implements and machinery have made tillage more productive and grain cheaper. In 1840 each peasant produced 63 bushels of grain. In 1860 the average was 87. In 1887 it had risen to 114; i.e. two men now pro-

duce more grain than three did in 1840. Again, it appears that owing to improved machinery . . . one man now, in whatever industry, produces as much as three did in 1820, or two and a half in 1840, or two in 1860.

If we turn to page 365 we find the same idea followed out in greater detail. Thus he tells us :

(1) Arkwright's spinning jenny enabled one operative, in 1815, to produce as much yarn as 200 could do a few years before.

(2) The crane of Cologne Cathedral in 1870, with two men, did the same work in one hour in lifting stone, as required 60 men to work 12 hours in the middle ages; that is, one man now is equal to 180 of olden times.

(3) The American boot-making machine enables one man to turn out 300 pairs of boots daily. One factory near Boston makes as many boots as 32,000 boot-makers in Paris. In 1880 there were 3,100 of these machines at work producing 150 million pairs of boots yearly.

(4) Altman's American reaper cuts and binds grain at 45 minutes per acre. D. Glynn, of California, cuts, threshes, winnows, and bags, with each of his machines, 60 acres of grain daily.

(5) The United States in 1888 produced 600,000 sewing machines which could do the work of 7,200,000 women.

(6) In the western states of America one man can raise as much wheat as will feed 1,000 persons for twelve months; a second can thresh, winnow, and bag it; and a third convey it to market.

(7) A girl twelve years of age in a Lancashire mill can turn out 35 yards of printed calico daily, her work in one year sufficing to clothe yearly 1,200 persons in the east.

To-day (1923) one man in 50 days can manure and sow with wheat 175 acres.

Such, then, the amazing facts of 1892. To-day wholly out of date. In fifty years the world had seen a progress never equalled in any other five thousand years; in another thirty years we have nearly doubled the distance travelled. One man in 1892, says Mulhall, in whatever industry, produces as much as three in 1820. For three write six, and we have the position to-day. One man—if he will—can produce as much as six did in 1820. In other words, if we would live as our forefathers did at the time of the battle of Waterloo—we could do so if we worked one hour for

their six. Or put another way, they worked for six days and then kept holy the seventh, whilst we could live as they did if we worked on one day alone and kept holiday the rest of the week.

Then what must we read—what only can we read in these tremendous facts? Hope, buoyancy, abundance. The efficiency of man has been trebled—sextupled—in a hundred years. Man by his labour lived in a certain degree of miserable comfort a hundred years ago. Man, with his added powers, must live in abundance in the years to come. What should abundance mean? Properly directed it should mean morals, education, and refinement: the triumph of the mind, the awakening of the soul, and the exaltation of the intellect over the mere corporeal and animal passions of human nature. What should abundance mean? It should mean that men as units may live in brotherhood; it should mean that nations may live in fellowship and goodwill. Yes, what should abundance mean? It means that a league of nations should be no fanciful dream, but only the giving expression to the hazy thought of a war-weary world. Abundance is not restricted to any one land, nor peculiar to any one people. It is throughout the world that man's power has been multiplied, and the only limit to a nation's prosperity is its own industry and its own habits; and every nation may be prosperous and contented, and the more so for the like prosperity of every other nation on the globe.

Yes, assuredly all this is what abundance should mean. With anxiety we ask what has it meant? This cruel war; this wild talk; these bloody massacres; this insane grabbing for more and yet more. Surely it is not enough for nature to shower every blessing upon man without also endowing him with wit to turn such blessings to account. But it is early yet to be cast down. The world is in the throes of a new birth, and the day of its deliverance is not yet at hand. For the moment man has not yet awakened to his new conditions; for the moment his intellectual expansion

fails to keep pace with his material development. Our ideas are still prehistoric, our mentality still of the time when abundance was unknown and a fight for existence a reality, and hunger more than a menace. A hundred years has sufficed to revolutionize our productive science, but has proved insufficient to readjust our mental equipment. In the past the fight for existence did mould our life, our habits, and our thoughts, it determined our mentality, and that mentality is still unchanged. Thus still we must quarrel and wrangle as in an age when days were evil and life was hard and as ever wild platitudes devoid of understanding and appeal to man's basest passions is often the shortest cut to wealth and fame. So, meantime, however optimistic our nature, it is not enough to have regard only to what perfect wisdom may teach, but to what most imperfect man may do. And yet, notwithstanding these facts, notwithstanding it is hampered at every turn by man's spiritual want of development, we still find the material will not be denied. Surely, silently, resistlessly, the material has been working for good in the development of man. Whilst man has been and is still talking it has been quietly acting. With the advance of physical science and its achievements man has also made progress in the way, and largely in spite of himself—certainly so far as these islands are concerned. But he has advanced. For example, without knowing the why or the wherefore, his ethical outlook has changed, and changed for the better in many directions. Contrast our ideas on many a social problem with those of our great-grandparents only. How terrible seem to us their hours of toil, their depth of ignorance, their appalling punishments! And why this change in ethical outlook? Is it that we are more humane? Race characteristics do not of themselves change in a century. No! but simply that progress in material conditions has already brought about this progress in our views. In those days life was hard, and small the margin between subsistence and actual want. Of necessity hours were long and

the conditions of labour intolerable, and only less intolerable than such conditions in a state of nature itself. With food enough to keep the wolf from the door—a pregnant phrase in those days—a man was happy, and with two suits to wear instead of one he was actually rich. As for education and such amenities of life, there was little leisure to permit of such drafts on labour. But they hanged—yes, hanged—a man for stealing a sheep. And with general consent. He made a hard life still harder and was the enemy of his kind. And so our attitude to the slave trade. We associate it with everything horrible. It is far different in our eyes to theirs of but a few years ago, and why? We can harness a slave worth a nation of blacks when we harness steam to our machinery. As long as material conditions were otherwise and the want of the world was power, it was intolerable that man or race who could work should not do so. Thus even Christianity itself did not condemn it. On the contrary it saw in the slave the descendant of Ham, marked out by the Almighty Himself for slavery from the beginning. In fact, till steam came and made the slave superfluous, there has been only one force which has consistently tended to alleviate his lot, and it we regard as a foible at best—Snobbery. What Roman, for instance, could pose as a man of fashion who could not afford a separate slave for every separate office of his establishment? *

Thus we may rejoice, and rightly rejoice, in our more humane outlook, but for all this should do so in all humility and without sitting in judgment on those who have gone before. Their conditions were not ours, and in our conditions they would have been no whit other than ourselves. Nothing is more wanting in comprehension than talk of the wrongs of the past. As for trying to right a past wrong by a present reform, when wronged and wronger in God's acre are

* Exactly as in pre-war days, when the lady of the house "could have sunk through the floor" when, her waitress being away, her cook had to open the door to a visitor.

together sleeping their last sleep, it is as hopeless as to bid the dead arise or their dust renew its youth and prime. And to so try is to sow dragon's teeth, to harvest a new crop of woe on woe. No; would we enter into our inheritance, with us it must be to "Let the dead past"—a past of which the wisest of us know but little—"Let the dead past bury its dead," and to try and work out our future with good will and a true understanding. And do this, and other signs are full of encouragement. We note this change in ethical outlook, and we equally record the parallel change in our very children of to-day. In all the world's story never has more glorious tale been told than that of our first million volunteers. Who realized that England boasted so many noble sons? And they both saved her and proved her worth saving by one and the same devotion. Had they failed, and we had gone under, would the world have been much the poorer for our exit? Why are we mistress of the seas? Because, as beautifully put by an American, so many of our sons have found their last home in the depths of the ocean. Strange, but true! But that nation alone is worthy to live which knows how to die.

Thus we visualize our race in trial and war: now problems of peace perplex us. And this very abundance seems to have brought about almost the most insoluble problem of all—that of leisure. Science has brought abundance, abundance leisure, and the crying need of the hour is to learn how to use it. Before the war many of us solved it with bridge, with golf, and other like elevated pursuits. It took a war to teach us the vanity and emptiness of a life so spent. On the other hand, for our millions the greatest boon our country has known is the bicycle. It has been the great temperance factor of the age, for it has found the worker a new interest in life. And now why only a bicycle? In the States they have one power-driven vehicle for every forty of the population, we only one for every four hundred. Why is the motor to be a toy only for the rich? To many a craftsman a motor

cycle is well within the capacity of his purse if he will but think a little, save a little, and put his soul into all that he does, his work included. And properly enjoyed, leisure is a glorious gift. We would have no life all toil, nor is there need for all toil. We would have our nation a joyous nation, a holiday-loving nation, if only it will enjoy such holidays aright. And taking a calm view of the whole matter it would seem we may truly say that our people are gradually learning to use such leisure reasonably and rightly.

No doubt this question of leisure born of abundance is the great problem of life before us. On its solution will depend the very future of the race. As to other subsidiary problems, such as free trade,* or tariff reform, or *ca' cannie* policy, of which we hear so much, they will all work themselves out when once we realize as a nation that it is not more abundance we want, but how to use wisely the abundance already given us.† Of course, as regards *ca' cannie*, it goes to the very root of the abundance of which we speak. It is obvious the less honey that is brought into a hive, the less there will be to divide. If one set of bees decide to bring in only half loads, all other bees will follow suit, with a consequent loss to all. No doubt this policy is due to an entire misapprehension of facts: our worker has been told that the only way he can secure a fair reward for his toil is by going slow. Colour is given to such talk by the steady increase in his wages during the past few decades, which he credits to this theory and practice. But such increase has been the sole result of the general material advance which we have noted, and has been in spite of and not due to such reduced production, which in fact has

* As missionaries of a magnificent ideal we may preach Free Trade, but can we justify dispute over it for any other reason?

† That is when, as individuals, we learn to say, "I have enough," not that "you have too much." This the world has been ready to say through all the ages.

very much lessened what otherwise he might have been receiving. However, a solution seems in sight. Pressed to its limit, the absurdity of such policy is obvious, and the logic of facts is proving unanswerable. If you don't produce there is nothing to divide. On the other hand, the reward to-day for industry and energy is abundance, and yet more abundance. It does not necessarily mean higher monetary earnings, but it does mean infinitely more of what money will buy. Nor are monetary earnings the all-important in life, nor yet even what they will buy. Let us see things in their true perspective, equate values at their true worth, and we shall master the supreme fact of existence—that all precious is the poetry of life, its sentiment, its refinement, and of least moment the adding to our store of riches. Then also we shall learn to love our little island as the most beautiful garden in the world; and to desecrate its beauties to make a few more millions will soon be a thing of the past.

And whilst we thus note the effect on our problems of the abundance promised us, yet we must not forget that it is not promised to us alone, but to every people of the world who have the understanding to appreciate it and the energy to make it their own; and this suggests the inquiry, how will the broader and larger problems of humanity be effected by the progress we have noted and recorded? And here let us approach the question from the lowest possible standpoint. Aristotle has said that man is a politic animal. Let our emendation be: Man is a quarrelsome beast. So let us take it that what alone governs his actions is pure cold unadulterated selfishness, and then ask what its effect on our international relations. It is beyond argument that the prosperity of every nation is in its own hands and is dependent on its own habits and its own industry alone. As individuals our interests may be conflicting, but equally is it beyond argument that as nations we all do well together. Our interests run on sympathetic not on antagonistic lines, and we are each the more prosperous for the like prosperity of

every other people in the world. And this is the common sense of the League of Nations: We will have no marauder ruining or exploiting any people to our detriment as well as that of its unfortunate victim. The world has fought the ruffian, and says that ruffianism shall exist no more. What alone is required is the effective policing of the world, itself less difficult than the effective policing of many a state not a hundred years ago. With the free interchange of thought that now prevails, the world is more one than were neighbouring villages when the railway was non-existent and wireless unknown. In former days of necessity we were parochial in our outlook; now parochialism, with many another limitation, is a thing of the past. In a Pax Romana the world knew a peace that paralyzed and stultified mankind; in a Pax Scientiæ the whole of the world shall sing for joy.

And what the bearing of intelligent selfishness in the narrower field of national life? Here also a like probable beneficent result is promised. In the mass unqualified selfishness averages itself out, is mutually destructive, and gives a chance for intelligence to prevail. No man is more intolerant of selfishness than the selfish man. When two such meet, equally strong and equally determined, good will there may be none, but compromise must come into its own. Thus a nation like Tyre may take a long shot and find prosperity in fair dealing when every individual trader would profit by his fraud. So in the Florence of the fourteenth century, the quality of her cloth was of civic importance, and a merchant who sold an inferior bale was treated as a criminal. In the result its excellence passed into a proverb, and her trade in it long survived her liberties and political fortunes.

One benefits by an abuse, the many suffer. Intelligent selfishness demands honesty in the interest of the whole. The individual, in the prosecution of his vicious pleasures may be ready to infect a township; the community, in its own interests, may well insist that purity shall prevail. So in the past war above all

we have realized the advantage of being members of a strong power. And the basis of that strength is health. And selfishness—it hardly needs to be enlightened selfishness—may well clamour for healthy life and thus make for realizing the great law of existence, that *healthy life is happy life and alone is happy life*. And healthy life being of supreme importance, will it be long before we insist on the all-essential of healthy life—THE RIGHT OF THE UNBORN TO BE BORN OF HEALTH-GIVING PARENTS. And do this, and it alone will mean a new world. Thus shall selfishness teach, thus shall we learn that all sin is folly. and that all folly is sin.

So much of international relations and of our social relations as a whole. And now what of the individual? What does abundance mean for the individual—how will it develop his character? And here we note that the very source of our well-being argues well for its continuance. It is no wealth stolen from others to impoverish them and ruin our moral nature; it is no bounty given by a too generous nature to sap our vitality and enervate our life; but it is ours as the reward of work and application alone. Listless, and it is ours no more. Idle, and we are quickly brought to our bearings by want again threatening. Thus in these very conditions are the best assurance for the permanence of our prosperity. Intrinsically no moral deterioration is involved in its persistence, but the reverse. And in discussing our own particular problems we have seen how we have advanced in ethical outlook as well as in material development. And is not further advance a reasonable expectation? The very effort demanded to secure abundance, and which abundance will foster, will also educate and accustom man to the enjoyment of such abundance, and raise him to a still higher standard of life. Not that we must expect an immediate transformation. In his nature man is the child of a long, long past, and the one nightmare of that past has been want. No! Ideas born of the ages are not to be changed in the passing

of an hour. But for all that, a certain optimism is justifiable. On rations—and the best of us marked with jealousy the heaped up plate of his fellow; as for the man who emptied the sugar basin, he was little better than a cur in our eyes—on rations, we got some little insight into a past when famine was an ever-present threat and scarcity the order of the day. And that same scarcity has been moulding man's thoughts and desires through the cycles of the centuries. Anything that stood between man and starvation—wealth, power, strength, position, importance, etc., etc.—was man's greatest good. Then shall no change take place when abundance is the heritage of mankind? One bone for two dogs was the law of the jungle in the past; two bones, three bones for every beast is now the gift of nature to our race.

We have drawn our conclusions from a state of society where selfishness is assumed as the all-governing principle of life. We have made everything of the material, we have ignored the spiritual; but who will say that altruism is no real, living, vital force as well? And with it ranged on the side of progress may not our fairest of dreams materialize and become actual realities? With the morrow assured both for oneself and one's children, may not new values be established of the truly precious in life? Love, esteem, and respect, in the scales with pure materialism, may weigh very differently when man is killed with anxiety and when a fight for existence troubles him no more. And as generations pass may not the cumulative effects be such as to entirely recast his thought and open his eyes to the greatest good? And what the greatest good—the highest satisfaction possible, otherwise happiness, to be got out of life? God in life has given man a glorious gift, and the Giver is most praised when His gift is most fully enjoyed. And when man masters the further undoubted fact that happiness is greatest when shared with one and all, then we shall be near attaining that coincidence of selfishness and altruism of which the philosopher has talked, the poet

sung, and the idealist made quest throughout the past.* And is this ever to be? Who shall say? And certainly who shall say it shall not? In its journey through the ages we have seen the world reaching ever higher altitudes, and of this we are assured, it has now been given to man to enjoy as never before. So here we leave our inquiry. Again we may liken ourselves to the voyager on the rollers of the Atlantic. Now we are rising on the wave. Is the crest still above us, or are we to plunge into the depths of the waters? Is another cycle of the ages to be recorded before man learns the lesson of life—the lesson of love? Or is it to be given to another day and generation to realize the joys of which we to-day have the promise?

Behold, man had learnt to love,
And the world had become a smiling paradise.

Yes, ours is the promise of the dawn. Clouds may darken our vision, but playing on the horizon is the radiance of the day to be, and even if not to be ours, yet shall we not say it is well to have looked upon its glory and to have mused awhile upon its joys?

* But let us not deceive ourselves. Let us do another a good turn, not in expectation of gratitude, but simply with the consciousness that we shall be happier because another is happier. That is our reward—our own increased happiness, not his gratitude.

PART III.

Ethical Ideal as determinant in life.

Reviewed in the ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE JEWS
and in CREEDLESS CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER VI.

A PRELIMINARY RETROSPECT.

¶ 1. OUR great museum authorities adopt the following convenient divisions of prehistoric times:
Eolithic, or dawn of the Stone Age;
Paleolithic, or the older Stone Age; and
Neolithic, or the later Stone age, which they regard as ending in general in northern Europe about B.C. 2000.

This later period they follow with the Bronze Age, which ended in general in Europe between B.C. 1000 and 500, and then, with the Iron Age, the first of which overlaps and the latter of which is co-extensive with what we know as Historic Times.

These Historic Times, once more, we roughly regard as ancient and modern, but with the greater precision of the prehistoric classification we might well see in our ancient history the two great masses, Pre-Alexandrian and Post-Alexandrian, taking approximately the year B.C. 300 as the date of the changing conditions. This has the advantage of giving a clear and sharp line of demarcation between two succeeding phases of civilization. Naturally, the other divisions are more or less arbitrary, and from their very character more or less indefinite, e.g. The Stone Age, which ended in Crete and in the great civilizations of the Nile

and Euphrates' valleys considerably before B.C. 2000, the date given, and which is hardly at an end yet in parts of South America and in some of the wilder regions of our world. Or take a more modern instance. It is generally agreed that the epoch of our Henry VII. marked the transition from medieval to modern times, but it would be difficult to put one's finger on any particular year and say, "In this the change took place." Probably the greatest factor in this development was the discovery of printing, but generations were to pass before its influence could be clearly traced. So with times to which many a conqueror has given his name. Many such have cursed their fellows, but it is doubtful if any have been sufficiently distinctive to establish an age. Their remembrance may be a nightmare, their pæans of triumph one long wail of widows and orphans, but in little else are their mighty deeds to perpetuate their memory. Like lightning they have come and gone and nothing to tell of their having been but the desolation they have left. True, we have seen great empires established by fighting and conquest, e.g. the Roman in older times, the Anglo-Saxon in these days, but these again tell of epochs rather than of any especial period. But far different were the mighty achievements of Alexander the Great. He found an old world: he left a new. In this he is to be distinguished from the other conquerors to whom we have referred. We cannot do better than instance Cyrus, founder of the Persian Empire, who, on the ruins of a destroyed Assyria, established his majesty. In many respects Cyrus might well be likened to him. In him we see one of the greatest and most enlightened generals of the world. He built up his magnificent empire by his ability and courage, and above all by his rectitude. It lasted some two hundred years, and then it passed and was merely of those that had been—of those whose story has been told. Far other Alexander in his triumphs. His empire hardly lasted longer than the baked meats of his funeral rites, and we still feel its influence. In modern days we

have had almost another such example in the great Napoleon. Unlike Alexander he had not the fortune to die in the heyday of his glory, and he lived to see his mighty fabric crumble about him in ruins. But had his work survived it is doubtful if it had much affected the destinies of mankind. So of the German attempt at universal dominion, and with results as disastrous to the prime movers in the resulting tragedy. And had success crowned such wicked attempt on the freedom of mankind, would a new era have been established? As with the Tartar hordes, would the triumphs of their arms have involved destruction of all noblest in man, or at best, as in the case of Cyrus, would it have meant but little more than change of master? By any chance could it have had the far-reaching consequences of the triumphs of this first world conqueror? No. Amongst the great generals of the world, in the extent and endurance of his achievements, Alexander stands alone. With him was farewell to a world then passing away; the introduction to a new which was to be the prelude to our own. How history would have been written had there been no Alexander who can tell? Greek thought by peaceful penetration might still have mastered the world, but would it have been as all-potent without the glamour of his fame? However, it is wiser for us to keep to what has been accomplished rather than indulge in speculations of the what-might-have-beens of the past.

2. Here for a moment let us glance at the surface features of his achievements, the clash of Grecian with Persian arms. Alexander's triumph was the culmination of a race conflict of which the first move was the battle of Marathon. The tale of Marathon has been too often and too well told to need retelling here. East and West were in mortal grip, and the world was not large enough for two such powers. At this first encounter it would have seemed that all the chances were with the former. The Persian was apparently at his zenith, and his story till then had been one of magnificent success. As a connecting

link between the two great protagonists we may turn to the Jewish race. It was in the year B.C. 722 that Sargon took Samaria and carried into captivity the ten tribes.* He was the general of the Assyrian army, but revolting from his master he usurped the supreme authority and established the wonderful hundred years' dynasty in which we see Assyria in its greatest glory. He was succeeded by Sennacherib, of the Old Testament; he by Esarhaddon, and the line was virtually closed by Assurbanipal, who might well have been distinguished as the Magnificent. It is to these princes we owe the treasures and remains which are the marvels of the Louvre and of the British Museum. It was these kings who enriched Nineveh with their buildings, their monuments, and above all with their libraries. And in a moment it was ended. The Assyrian was fiendishly cruel, and his empire was held together by fear alone. The crisis came, and Assurbanipal—some suggest his son—deserted by all, his general Nabopolassar faithless as Sargon his predecessor had been faithless, succumbed to a coalition of his rebellious servant with Cyaxares, king of the Medes, and Necho, king of Egypt, and Nineveh was taken. For himself, according to Greek tradition, he would not survive his lost fortunes and, collecting all that was most precious into one huge funeral pyre, he set it on fire with his own hands; then threw himself into the raging flames and so made end.

Thus first stage in the destruction of the Assyrian.

Nabopolassar, reaping the reward of his treachery, as king of Assyria established his capital in Babylon, where he was succeeded by his son Nebuchadnezzar. For awhile their fortunes were somewhat varying. The fall of Nineveh, the division of the empire amongst the allies, lessened its prestige in general, and there were enemies ever ready to profit by its

* According to his annals some 27,280 people, who would probably include their smiths and soldiers, as well as captains and principal citizens. Later on, in Tobit we see them holding high office in Nineveh.

weakness. Not least were the Scythians always knocking at its gates. "The lion is come up from the thicket, and the destroyer of the Gentiles is on his way; he is gone forth from his place to make the land desolate" * Egypt under Necho II., a vigorous monarch, was anxious to again try conclusions with his hereditary enemies, and also ranged against them were their late allies, the Medes. Evidently Judith of the Apocrypha must find setting in some such period as this, nor does there seem reason for regarding it as wholly fictitious, as some would think. In it we have a lively account of how "Nabuchodonozor" sent to the once subjects and tributaries of the empire on the west to come to his assistance. But instead, "the inhabitants of the land made light of his commandments, neither went they with him to battle, for they were not afraid of him. Yea, he was before them as one man, and they sent away his ambassadors from them with disgrace" (*Judith* i. 11). And then another turn of fortune's wheel. Nebuchadnezzar was a great general, and he triumphed over the Medes and Egyptians alike. Ecbatana, their capital, he took, and he "spoiled the streets thereof and turned the beauty thereof into shame. He took also Arphaxad, in the mountains of Ragan, and smote him through with his darts and destroyed him utterly that day." And then he called to mind those who had made light of him in his hour of weakness. Judith is the story of how at first he was balked of his prey, and then successful and his vengeance was terrible. Amongst those on whom he poured out his fury were the tribes of Judah. We know their fate. He destroyed utterly their city Jerusalem and carried the chief of the people away into captivity into Babylon. This was about the year B.C. 588, and was to prove their salvation as a nation. Such of the ten tribes as were carried into Nineveh with the break up of the Assyrian power were scattered and lost in the Semitic race generally. The Jews in

* Jer. v. 7.

Babylon, a select stock, sharing the fortunes of Cyrus were to preserve their individuality to this day. And here we see Nebuchadnezzar in the climax of his glory. But these treacherous dynasties never seem to have been of long continuance, and his house was to prove no exception to the rule. With the aid of the Mede his father had overthrown the house of Sargon, who in turn had betrayed his master, and yet another fifty years and Cyrus the Persian is to finally end the Assyrian power and his line at one and the same time. Cyrus is one of those figures in history which we love to linger over. In profane and sacred story alike we see him in all the beauty of his character. Isaiah loves to dwell upon him as the "Anointed of the Lord." His very name Cyrus rings suggestive of *ὁ Κύριος*, the Lord, finding in Greek equivalent *ὁ Χριστός*, and in Hebrew "Messiah," words which though now incorporated in our language with distinctive meanings are yet but equivalents of and translations of this same phrase, "The anointed one." And well he merited such meed of praise at their hands. He found them as slaves and captives in a strange land. Never more pathetic song of exiles than Psalm cxxxviii, perhaps never one more terrible: "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept when we remembered Zion." And it tells how bitter their captivity. And he took them out of their dungeon and restored them to dignity and power; and their chiefs he took for his counsellors and advisers. There must have been a strain of common blood feeling between him and this strange, stern, uncompromising race. Like his own people they were hardy hillmen with perhaps all the exaggerated failings and virtues of such tribes. His own particular clansmen were very noble. We know their canons of ethics, the education of their young: To ride, to shoot with the bow, and to tell the truth. We can realize how the hearts of the two went out to one another, how their souls vibrated with a common emotion.

Above all, how the poor, ill-used, despised slave must have responded to the advances of his new-to-be master. It is little of kindness received that his history has to tell of. Perhaps it was little he deserved. His history till now has been mostly of fierce fighting and cruel wars and of wrongs done or suffered. And to him, hopeless, stricken, captive, Cyrus was indeed all that Isaiah described him, and in his success these poor exiles saw and he saw the favour of their God. And he was to be founder of a mighty empire, and in that empire the Jew was to hold no mean place. Thus the first great stage in that religion which is the greatest heritage of mankind.

3. So far we have talked of the Medes, the Medes and Persians as better known where the Mede was the dominant partner. In Herodotus we see how their fortunes were interwoven. He tells us how Astyages—probably "the Darius the Median" of Daniel—had a daughter Mandane, whom he married to a Persian, of the royal house as we now know, and who was the mother of this same Cyrus. Much romance gathers round his early history, but probably reduces to the fact that the Medes would have preferred one of their own people as king. It may be that they plotted against him, but he proved to have great abilities, and it is clear that his grandfather Astyages, being an old man, he became virtually king-de-facto of both nations several years before he assumed the title itself. Hence the taking of Babylon by Darius the Median, according to Daniel, or less accurately by Cyrus, according to the Greek account. We have observed that Cyrus was one of the great generals of all time, and his victories no doubt helped to reconcile him to the Medes as their master. So perhaps in these relations with his somewhat supercilious kinsmen we get further sidelight into the regard he had for his new Jew subjects. In power Cyrus speedily restored the fortunes of the dual kingdom, and finally humbled in the dust their hereditary enemies, the Lydians. These he completely

subdued, taking captive their famous king Croesus, and seizing and enriching himself with his fabulous wealth. Then in the year B.C. 538 we see him resolved to try conclusions with their greatest enemy of all, the Assyrian, whose power was now centralized in Babylon. The story of its last days is graphically told by the prophet, and in his brilliant pages we have a marvellous picture of it in its dying grandeur. This old Assyrian race knew how to quit the stage with dramatic splendour. Nineveh is ended: its king throws himself into the blazing funeral pyre of his own kindling. Babylon is to fall: its king be killed in an orgie of insolent bravado and magnificence. We see the revellers, numerous, drunken, triumphant. We hear the wild laughter, the empty mirth, and then—the writing, the bidden slave, the interpretation—defiant and exultant—and conclusion: “In that night was Belshazzar, king of the Chaldeans, slain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about three score and two years old.” Thus Cyrus became master of the city. Skilfully he had invested it from without. As signally he was assisted from within. In the Jewish captives he had valuable allies and to them tradition ascribes the opening of the gates from within to signally facilitate its capture. May be other disaffected subjects helped to paralyze the defence, for it was the fortune of these later Assyrian royal houses, themselves ever treacherous, to fall by like treachery when they ceased to be objects of fear. But be it as it may, Babylon his, and Cyrus now entered on the inheritance of the mighty power he had destroyed. On the firm foundation of its ruins he established his Persian Empire, which was soon to grow to such amazing extent.

And in his case victory undoubtedly went to the virtuous. Had Greece been called to meet the Persian of this day it might have been another story to tell. But another fifty years—a short fifty years—was to pass, and this was to be their salvation. It was September, B.C. 490, when a world issue was to be

decided at Marathon, and that it was so decided was that the Persian had already fallen from his high estate. The hardy mountaineer who yielded to no mortal foe succumbed without a struggle to the milder climate of the plains and the more insidious dangers of success. Conqueror of his then world, he could not resist the most subtle enemies of man—the enervation of luxury and the insidious passion of wealth. Vain the precepts of their king; vain his ordinances and rules; vain their resolutions and their vows; the once fine hill soldier had become degenerate, sybarite, sensualist, and slave. His world mastery was to end, but because he had first ceased to be master of himself. Yes, fifty years—two short generations—are enough to work the change. For another hundred and fifty years prestige is to enable him to dominate races little different from himself, but as surely as that handwriting on the wall of Babylon told the story-to-be of his enemy, so also is his same story to be told when once he is in serious conflict with the more virile races of the west.

4. B.C. 333, an easy date to memorize, is the battle of the Issus. The year before sees Alexander crossing the Hellespont: West's final challenge to East to mortal combat. Great as his triumph over the Persian in the field, it is but the surface view of his achievement, and the one to interest us the least. As a soldier he was very great, but the world has to tell of many such. Our Clive, for example: his first successes; his defence of Arcot; his amazing victories, and victories not merely against native troops, but against natives assisted and led by the till then superior French. The story of his exploits is a veritable fairy tale, so marvellous were they. On the other hand, in the case of Alexander, the relative value of the combatants had already been proved, above all by the famous “Retreat of the ten thousand,” which established the Greek as the first soldier in the world.

And this was key to Alexander's success. Every individual Greek deemed himself the superior and

probably was the superior of every other man the world over. Not only as a soldier did he find himself supreme, but in art, in literature, in science, and in theology he established standards never before known. And this it was that gave pre-eminence to Alexander as a conqueror. He was not only general of a victorious army, but far more was missionary of a higher civilization. The conquests of his sword were notable, but as nothing to the intellectual results that followed in their wake. Alone and unassisted, by its own inherent vitality, it might have made its way, but it only wanted the triumphs of Alexander in the field for Hellenism in all its comprehensive significance to become the spiritual power of the world. And it was a willing world led captive. A proud position had been held by other civilizations: by the Egyptian, the Phoenician, the Cretan, and the Assyrian; but where the masterpieces of the Greek, the bewitching loveliness of his wondrous art? And we also have come under its spell. Look at his Parthenon, the despair of every succeeding age, our own included. We still marvel at its wonderful frieze. Where such horses and riders, such delicate and yet such mighty chiselling? And all in such profusion. One such plaque were enough to make a sculptor of our time famous amongst his fellows, and here no end to their number or variety. In God's works alone do we find thought worked out with such exuberant fertility, and none of it to be surpassed. Nor is our indebtedness limited only to his art. In every other realm of the intelligence his canons still give us law. He remoulded not only his own age, but that in which we now live. A dead world found renaissance in study of his masterpieces, and thought only became again worthy of the name when once more it assimilated the ideas of this marvellous past. We mark his philosophy. Whatever is to be said in metaphysics has been better said by him than ever before or since. The triumphs of modern departures have mostly been the reconciling the impossible with the absurd, and have added little to human knowledge or advancement. Probably of

all sciences the deductive metaphysical is the most barren, but it has always fascinated the contemplative, and as first in such science we must still place the Greek amongst the immortals. Alone to stand with these demi-gods of a past world is our own glorious Lord Bacon. In the realms of thought is he alone their peer. And he thus takes pride of place not so much that he would challenge what they taught as that he was the first to realize that new conditions now governed. It was not so much against Greek thought in its purity that he rebelled as against Greek thought as viewed and interpreted by an ignoble age. At Marathon we see the human race in one of the culminating points of its greatness, finding expression in its religious ideals, in the writings of the Jew, and in all else in the supremacy of the Greek. His fortunes are to be ever-changing, but there is to be little variation in its supreme influence on man himself. Since Marathon man had been more or less on the downward grade. Hellenism was but the distribution, not the development of that marvellous culture—until, with ever-increasing velocity, he reached the miserable depths of our own black dark ages. The ignorance and grovelling superstition of those days, when to be dirty was to be holy, is almost past credibility. Well for the world's good fame had that millennium of years been blotted out. And then once more this old Greek thought bursts on mankind in all the fulness of its ancient brilliance. With its recovery our dark and middle ages pass away and our modern world has birth. And now we witness a new departure which with amazing prophetic instinct the prescience of the seer, Lord Bacon, had been first to sense and realize. The world we live in is the world he saw; the world in which he would have been far more at home than in his own. He was weary of a world of talk. Man's story had become talk, talk, nothing but talk. Mindless, aimless, brainless talk. That it took a religious cast was that the man was worthless, not his faith. A man found in his belief what he sought—himself; and

a sorry find. And Bacon revolt from these dark ages was anxious to get to realities of life. And thus his attitude to the old Greek philosophies, alike with the Bible itself, prostituted to the same base end, the all in allness of talk. And he craved for facts. But we must read his teaching in the light of times when notions, nonsense, and absurdities had to do duty for facts. This is the reverse of the position to-day; probably the reverse of the position of the old Greek himself before he also degenerated. In the heyday of his powers we see him not only with marvellous powers of mental analysis but also with Bacon's same insatiable appetite for knowledge—for facts as well. So ever is born upon us, Life is not philosophy alone nor conduct alone; not theory alone nor facts alone; but the momentum of the two. Now we have the swing of the pendulum in this direction, now in that. Now to-day facts so accumulate that we are simply overwhelmed with them, and above all our need is for another Bacon or Aristotle to collect and ordinate them, and above all see them in their true relation one to another. Our world is very much as a watch. Many to master every separate wheel, but we sadly need the comprehensive intellect of a Plato or a Bacon to master the watch as a whole. Starvation was the mode of their day; abundance, and still more abundance the gift of God to man of these times. And it is oh! for a teacher to tell us how to use it wisely; not to dissipate it in indulgence; not to fritter it away in idleness; not turn it into a curse in huge armaments; not lose its benefits in piled-up treasuries; not exhaust it in "a multitude of unprofitable children"; but to use it as God would have it used in making man a better, holier, and happier creature and more worthy of the great vocation to which undoubtedly he has been called.

5. We have thus dwelt upon the intellectual results of Alexander's triumphs, but not because they had not other most vital consequences as well. As mere conquests the changes effected were striking and far-

reaching, and in passing have to be touched upon. From his day new dynasties were to be given to a conquered mankind. Hitherto the ruling families had been mostly of those who traced their descent to the legendary heroes and demi-gods of a previous age. With his death, B.C. 323, a few years finds his empire divided amongst his generals from whom for the future—until Rome overmasters all—sovereignty is alone to be derived. They were the founders of kingdoms through whom all later rulers were to establish their claims. Rare were the occasions when their position was challenged by any of the ancient houses, so completely had the new supplanted the old régime. In the break-up of the empire geographical considerations mostly determined the limits of the sub-divided monarchies. These changed with the ever-varying fortunes of the respective possessors, but roughly we note a general persistence in main outlines. Thus one we see established in Macedonia and adjacent parts; another has a kingdom virtually co-extensive with Thrace and much of Asia Minor; a third, Seleucus, secures Babylon and along with it much of the old Persian Empire; whilst to Ptolemy fell Egypt, and he heads a dynasty only to end with the death of Cleopatra, so famous in story. Marking these changes, we see how aptly the year B.C. 300 serves to divide ancient history into the two masses we have mentioned—Pre-Alexandrian and Post-Alexandrian times.

But whilst the conquests of Alexander served to disseminate a higher civilization, in every other respect they were an unqualified curse to mankind. We are little interested in the varying fortunes of his generals and their successors, but their mutual jealousies, their intolerable ambitions, their unbridled passions were once more to let loose on miserable mankind all the horrors of unceasing war. For nearly two centuries the great Empire of Persia had virtually ensured a general peace, but this was now to have end. It is the custom to talk slightly of this power, but

for all that it had a code of ethics, politics, religion and justice which secured a great deal of solid contentment to its subject people. The one happy period in the history of the Jews was this two hundred years, and above all they owed to it their sacred books which have had such mighty influence on their fortunes and those of mankind. If their tranquillity and prosperity is any criterion of this government of Persia as a whole it speaks well for her rule, and in her fallen fortunes a now distracted world had also to lament its own evil fate. Rome is to establish a like ascendancy, but till then these new Greek dynasties are to indulge in one long orgy of fighting in which millions of innocents are to be slaughtered that they may satisfy their hates or establish their grandeur. Whether the deadly lethargy which settled on the world with the Roman hegemony was an improvement may be matter of doubt and from that blighting influence, even with peace restored, Hellenism was helpless to save an enslaved world. With loss of liberty was loss of all else precious in humanity. The rebellious slave commands our sympathy: the slave who accepts his conditions has always proved abject and contemptible.

And man in chains, with ignoble masters, need we wonder that he is to plunge into the morass of degradation and darkness to which we have referred; in which Hellenism itself is to be swamped, and from which a thousand years of shame is not to suffice to deliver him.

6. Hellenism as a specific movement owed much to Ptolemy who had taken Egypt as his especial province. Once established, he resolved that his capital, Alexandria, should become the intellectual centre of the civilized world. It had been founded B.C. 332 by Alexander the Great to be metropolis of his empire. As such its site was well chosen. A glance at the map will show how accessible it was from every part of his vast dominions. But with his death and the break-up of his power this proud destiny was never to be materialised. And yet little would that mighty general

have imagined that his successor, ruler of but a fraction of his kingdom, was to give that self-same city an eminence which was to make it deathless in a world's history. Some nine years it existed as potential capital of a temporal power; some nine centuries it was to exist unchallenged mistress of spiritual activity and thought. Its trend was settled from the first by this self-same Ptolemy. He was a remarkable man. If scandal be not wholly invention he was half brother to Alexander by the fair Arsinoe, a concubine of Philip. Pre-eminently handsome, to her he owed his looks, as he did his abilities to his reputed father. He was great in all kingly attainments, but above all in his love of learning and the arts. His mantle fell on his immediate descendants, who proved equally distinguished. Their rule of a hundred years (Ptolemy Soter, 323-285; Ptolemy Philadelphus, 285-247; Ptolemy Euergetes, 247-222) marks an epoch in man's existence. We see Hellenism in its full flood tide, it is still a living ennobling force. Behind it is the figure of the Greek, chiefest of mankind. But with his freedom lost, deterioration sets in, and from the proudest of master spirits he becomes the most contemptible of slaves. The *esprit* of the past survives, but it is to receive no further illumination from existing exponents. And the dynasty of Ptolemy lasts some two hundred years more and well reflects the characteristics of the times. It comes to an end B.C. 30, when Augustus, triumphing over Anthony and Cleopatra, makes Egypt a Roman province. But the Ptolemaic era has made its mark on the fortunes of mankind, and to the end the love of letters, the passion of its first founder, runs in the blood and seems hereditary in this family.

It was under such ægis Alexandria grew and prospered. The genial glow of royal patronage established an atmosphere which it never lost. In itself it was most magnificent of cities. Its Pharos or lighthouse, built of white marble, was one of the seven wonders of the world. In its very inception it was fortunate.

As a new foundation its inhabitants were denizens of every nation. There was no old aboriginal population to cold shoulder every new comer, but every man ready to prove himself a good citizen was accepted and protected. We thus find Alexandria home of most diverse races. They were colonists drawn from every country. Though founded in Egypt its inhabitants do not seem to have been particularly Egyptian. It was essentially cosmopolitan in its people as well as character. We see the Jews there. They run to tens of thousands. A combination of reasons make them distinctive in story, but probably their case was but parallel of many others. Probably a census would show that all the then civilized world was represented in this amazing city. Over all was the Greek, but he was in no predominating numbers. Rather he was as host who made guests welcome from every land. He was first, but amongst such guests equality reigned. Each met the other on equal footing and superiority was to be found in the individual and not in his race. And pride of place was given to letters. Ptolemy, himself historian of Alexander's wars, was ever eager to welcome to his city any who could contribute to its pre-eminence in literature, in science, or in art. A man, no matter what his country or people, needed no passport to his favour other than distinction in some branch of learning. He was always well served by genius, for in him genius ever found most generous of patrons. And thus the family tradition. To his son, Philadelphus, for example, we owe the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. Its importance cannot be overstated. Christ Himself used it, and from it the quotations in the New Testament are taken. Though our translation is from the Hebrew the relative authority is debateable, and in the troubles that overtook the race it is possible that this Hebrew original might have been lost sight of but for the widespread renown that this Septuagint version had obtained. Philadelphus may have had some leaning to the religion of the Jews or as likely may not,

but he knew of the distinctive excellence of their holy books and was instrumental in their being translated into the vernacular Greek. This was in the year B.C. 287 and was typical of the royal attitude to genius in every form. Thus all thought in its highest phases found fullest expression in this most magnificent of cities. Poetry had its masters there; mathematics and science their students—the schoolboy will be interested in the name of Euclid, one of its citizens—philosophy its profoundest teachers, and history its greatest professors. Above all, religion in its thousand and one forms was in no want of worthiest of protagonists. Here every shade of opinion found its own especial exponent and he would have been of strange cult indeed who could not meet there his own people and his own creed. Were he pious Buddhist, reaction from the too idealistic Pantheism of the Brahman here he would find a brotherhood and ceremonial with which he was in full accord. Nor would the same Panthiest with the simplicity of his creed—God is everything and everything is God—feel strange in that city of all the faiths. And here also every mean, with its appropriate ritual and service, from the extreme theism and idealism of the east to the ultra anthropomorphism and realism of the west, was to have its own especial following, and here, far more than in Athens, might have been erected an altar to the UNKNOWN GOD. The Greek in his sunny naturalism found outward expression of his religion in the glories of his art, and never did pantheon know more exquisite representation of a deified world. But with it all was consciousness that beneath all these superficialities—beautiful and simple, fantastic or absurd—was a deeper meaning one with the mystery of existence itself. If God could have taken human form how all-glorious He must have been, and the summit of his art was an endeavour to give form and substance to such fond imaginings. And so missionaries to-day tell us that the intelligent savage rarely confounds the demons of his fears and worship

with the great Spirit, the great fountain of all creation. Still less the cultured man of the past, whether Jew, Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian or Greek. Underlying all outward forms and observances they alike knew but this one great first cause. Hence the toleration of each other's creeds. Forms might vary, but the same God was sought by one and all. But here a distinction, too great for human comprehension, it was rare that in all his supreme majesty he was made direct object of worship. It was in his attributes as found in humanity and nature that he was seen and it was in his attributes that he was to be approached. Around this great central conception, no doubt, grew up a host of secondary or derived deities; of local divinities and tribal gods; with yet a third class of demigods and heroes; of demons, spirits, devils, hobgoblins, bogies, and others, who, save in name, do not seem to have otherwise vastly differed in the attributes associated with them. Local conditions moulded local superstitions in those days exactly as in these more enlightened times. So what essentially gave distinction to the religion of the Jew was his sacred writings. As the Parthenon to the Athenian, so his "Book" to his race, and a world realized the supremacy of both. In the "Great Unknown," he may possibly have continued to see his tribal god, though this is doubtful, but in the sublime conception of his prophets was the highest note yet struck of the majesty of the deity.

Thus home and epitome of ancient thought and belief we see this Alexandria—the city of the past. It is enriched with all that art or genius can imagine, and matchless with a museum—otherwise library—that was one of the wonders of all time. Conquerors were to come and go, empires were to rise and fall, but Alexandria, home of Greek thought, was still to be mistress of the intellectual world. Rome, jealous of any pre-eminence but her own, several times laid her in ruins, and even Julius Caesar allowed her library to be destroyed; but, phoenix-like, she arose from her

ashes and again and yet again raised her proud head on high. But with Omar, A.D. 640, came the end, and it is another city with other traditions that now fills the place of that once great home of the Greeks. Its history is the history of a civilization, and of a Hellenism which died with it. A new era, a new millennium, is to mark the rebirth of both.

CHAPTER VII.

THE JEWS IN EARLY DAYS.

¶ 7. A study of the geographical features of Palestine goes far to give us some insight into the characteristics of its inhabitants. For the moment interest centres in the Jewish people, and looking at Jerusalem and noting its situation and surroundings, we realize how essentially they were hillmen—the Highlanders of those parts. In fact, they seem to have had many points in common with this sturdy race. At home we see them chiefly as peasants, a wild, fierce, fanatical and straight-living clan. "It is ill taking the breeks off a Highlander," is an old saying—ininitely troublesome in the taking not worth taking when taken; not even if he had any to take. This in especial applied to them, and in their fastnesses they were a race not lightly to be meddled with. Hornets were pleasanter to stir up in their nest. And in their education they had also much in common with the Scotch. In this respect both owed no little to their religion. The synagogue Jesus taught in and the conventicle of an old Covenanter had much in common. A short service of prayer and praise, a reading of the law, and then an exposition of it; such the order of the day. If a great stranger were present he was asked to say a few words, and thus we see our Lord, St. Paul, and other apostles. "Thy law hath been my meditation day and night," saith the Psalmist; and certainly it made a fine and thoughtful citizen. It was far more in this than in any special monotheistic views that the Jew was out of sympathy with his neighbours. In the exoteric, or

outward forms of belief and ceremonial we may mark no great differences; but in the depths of their religious consciousness, amongst the initiate of both, we find them at the antipodes of thought. With the ancient world Temple worship, more especially as it found expression in their mysteries, was one elaborated sensuous appeal to the emotions. Nothing was wanting that could quicken the imagination or inflame the passions. A service of purification, maybe itself preceded by fasting, prepared the minds of the devout for the principal ceremony. Oneness with the deity was the great consummation to be achieved. To secure this all the resources of science and art with those of superstition and magic were put under contribution. The gorgeous temple with its half-lights, its sumptuous appointments, its fragrant incense, and its general atmosphere so mysterious, was infinitely suggestive of a world not wholly this. And then the gentle breathing of song in strophe and anti-strophe, the processions and choregic dances; the exhortation, the roll of sonorous verse; all working up in a mighty crescendo of fervid excitement and expectation; when as final climax, exhibition was made of the sacred emblems themselves. And now the god is very present indeed, and every degree of religious experience is to prevail. Now we have the rapture of elation, the exaltation of the ascetic, the trance of the medium, and the unseen is now the only real existence. In these phenomena the scientist of to-day sees but varying hypnotic stages, but the old world knew in them the spirit of the god alone. And in their culmination, in a frenzy which found vent in self-inflicted torture and mutilation; in a defiance of all natural law and pain; we find them on the border of that emotional dementia which only now to some small extent we are beginning to appreciate and understand.

And the Jew would have none of these things. He was the old-world Puritan—and as agreeable. And hence the love the old world bore him. In his religion he was essentially healthy minded. Strength was not

to be dissipated in emotion. Emotion was to find expression in action, or man's nature was to be hopelessly undermined. And unless thus followed up emotion is ever a dangerous tool to play with, and this is a world's experience.

We have found parallel to the Jew in the Scot, and like the Scots they made most excellent colonists wherever they settled. Whether before the captivity they went much afield we cannot say, but there is some evidence that they did so during the exile. And they took with them the two invaluable assets, a good constitution and a sound education. Thus endowed they proved very adaptable to any new conditions in which they found themselves. Wherever we see a colony of them it is prosperous and respected. Thus at Alexandria they are so numerous and esteemed that it is worth the while of the king to interest himself in the translation of their law. And we are to witness a gradual but very sure progress in their development and importance until, with the advent of our Lord, we are to see in the Jews one of the proud races of the world. It is growth we witness, and this is one of the facts we must not lose sight of in following their history.

8. We thus note the Jew so much child of his environments, but withal there is the still further fact to be noted that whilst Jerusalem and its district was the cradle of a vigorous people, Jerusalem in itself was especially a place to get out of. The Belgium of those times, it was the battle-ground for the neighbouring great contending civilizations on which to fight out their unending disputes. So, not too peaceful a people themselves—and none but a fierce people could have maintained themselves in those parts at all—their early history is one long tale of war, of alternate triumph and disaster. To realize their position it is well to glance at a summary of their fortunes after settlement in Canaan. Grant, as some contend, that the story is not historically authentic and the dates conventional, yet even if it be no more

than traditional it shows what in song and legend it was thought to have been.

- 1451. *Jews under Joshua enter Canaan.*
- 1405. *Subjected to Mesopotamia.*
- 1343. *Subjected by Eglon, King of Moab.*
- 1285. *In servitude to Jabin, King of Canaan.*
- 1252. *Enslaved by the Midianites.*
- 1187. *Ammonites subdue them.*
- 1156. *Philistines enslave them.*
- 1136. *Samsom delivers them.*
- 1116. *Again enslaved by Philistines.*

Then follow the wars of Saul and David, with varying fortune:

- 1040. *David recovers ark from Philistines.*
- 1011. *Solomon builds Temple.*
- 972. *Jerusalem sacked by Shishak, King of Egypt.*
- 957. *Judah fights and defeats Israel.*
- 941. *Invasion by Ethiopians repulsed.*
- 940. *Syria invades Israel.*
- 887. *Jerusalem sacked by Philistines and Arabs.*

About this period Assyria is the general terror of the land.

- 826. *Israel massacres inhabitants of Jerusalem.*
- 750. *Menahem, King of Israel, buys off Assyria with 1,000 talents of silver.*
- 741. *Pekah, King of Israel, ravages Judah; takes 200,000 captives to Samaria.*
- 740. *Tiglath Pileser II. overruns Israel.*
- 730. *Ahaz, King of Judah, seeks help of Assyria against Israel, and becomes her vassal.*
- 723. *Instigated by Egypt, Israel rebels against Assyria.*
- 722. *Sargon defeats Egypt at Raphia.*
- 721. *Sargon captures Samaria: ends Israel and carries away captive 27,280 of the people.*
- 712 (?). *Sennacherib overruns Judah. Hezekiah pays tribute as vassal.*
- 701. *Sennacherib defeats Egyptians at Eltekeh.*

Besieges Jerusalem. His army destroyed by plague.

- 672. *Esarhaddon invades Egypt. Judah apparently involved; Manasseh carried captive into Assyria. On being restored is faithful as its vassal.*
- 610. *Josiah, faithful to Assyria, opposes Pharaoh Necho II. at Megiddo, and is killed. Pharaoh Necho takes Jerusalem. Judith, probably, somewhere between these dates.*
- 605. *Necho II. makes expedition against Assyrian: is defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar. Nebuchadnezzar sends captain to subdue Syria, Judah, &c.*
- 598. *Judah having rebelled, Nebuchadnezzar takes and plunders Jerusalem, carries away 10,000 of the princes, warriors, and smiths of the city.*
- 588. *Prompted by Egypt, Judah again rebels. Nebuchadnezzar invests Jerusalem, but raises siege to fight Egyptians.*
- 586. *Egypt disposed of, Nebuchadnezzar reduces Jerusalem by starvation after siege of nearly eighteen months.*

Most of the dates are of disasters. Probably in addition they suffered terribly from Scythian hordes, as told in such tremendous language in Jeremiah iv., v., and vi. No doubt there were intermediate dates of success, but even successful war is only just less horrible than when unsuccessful, as we in these days can also testify.

9. Such their history until the captivity. Even for those days they had more than their due share of trouble. It may have been that they were a war-like race, ever ready to hit back, or it may have been the history—though untold—of every small nation unable to make itself respected by its numbers and power. It may be that their unhappy record was due to the way that they themselves had become possessed

of the land, with the result that from then on their hand was against every man, and every man's hand against them. Or it may have been, having regard to the years that had passed and the common history in this respect of all nations, that the key to their misfortunes was that they were on the highway between Egypt and the other great powers to which we have referred, and that with one or other of them, save with shortest intervals, Egypt was ever at variance. And in those variances Palestine was of necessity involved. No general could ignore its cities and peoples, and in especial the fierce warriors of the hills. They had either to be secured as allies or crushed as enemies before the more serious campaign could be proceeded with. Alexander invading Egypt was held up by Gaza, which he was able to take only after a two-months' arduous siege. Tyre similarly withstood him for another seven months. And then she succumbed to his incomparable genius alone. For two thousand four hundred years she had never known the foot of conqueror. Thus Herodotus. And Egypt, impregnable save from the sea and through the isthmus, gateway to Asia, made it a capital part of her policy to maintain satisfactory relations with these buffer states as they now would be termed. She was no inconsiderate neighbour, but it was far from safe for these unfortunates to even be her allies. Egypt too often proved the broken reed of the prophets. We have seen how the Jews fared when, thinking the Assyrian no longer of account, they refused to assist Nebuchadnezzar in his wars with the Medes. And Egypt crushed, bitterly were they to rue his displeasure. But, then, only some five years before it had proved as disastrous not to accept the dangerous friendship of the Egyptian, as witness B.C. 610, when Jerusalem had been captured by Pharaoh Necho. In fact, Jewish politics in those days were very simple in theory, but infinitely difficult in practice. It was all vital for them to back the winning side. There was for them no such thing as an armed neutrality. They

could not stand aside and let foes fight out a quarrel in which they had no concern. With one or other they had to throw in their lot. Let them have the fortune to choose aright and a moderate tribute placated their great and dangerous ally. But make a mistake—and it was city destroyed, country ravaged, women violated, children massacred, and themselves blinded and captive, even if they escaped being crucified or impaled. No wonder faction-frenzy ran high. No wonder the violence of divided opinion as to which enemy—how they loathed them both!—was the stronger. And so we have priest denouncing prophet, prophet denouncing priest; and maybe a puppet king tossed between the two; all hysterically certain that safety is to be found in their counsel alone. And what if, after the manner of the East, each is insistent that he and he alone is mouthpiece of their God? And a wrong decision in the end, and it is woe on woe and nothing left but blank despair, the blacker for the wild reproaches and bitter invective of those whose counsels have been despised.

Yes, Judea in those days was a happy place to live in. To be weak was to be wretched. And if their hearts were full of fury against their enemies and neighbours—neighbours who had been more fortunate in their prognosis of events and now made sport of them in the dust—is it to be wondered at? They were like a poor persecuted cat baited by dogs. Maybe, opportunity offering, they turned savagely at bay and were then terrible and dangerous. And crushed and ring-fenced in with those that hated them and those they hated, their outpourings are terrible in their vindictive rage, but so natural. Hunted by every man, they had been more than human if some such sentiments had never escaped them. Exquisite in beauty and pathos their song in exile to which we have referred, but awful and dread its finale of passion: "Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones." We hear the emphasis, "*Thy* little ones," for had he not seen his own thus done

to death? All too horrible. And they meant it, as humanly they had a right to mean it. Another period is to show that unmolested, fairly treated, no man is to prove a better citizen or subject than these Timons of that age. We are to mark them for two hundred years subjects of the Persian. Particularly we are to note them in their new home of Babylon. Practically for them they are to be two hundred years without history. They give themselves up to peaceful pursuits, to their trades, their agriculture, and the collecting, editing, and study of their sacred books. It is then that in tradition and custom they begin to acquire the distinctive attributes as a nation which have since been theirs. And we see them deep in the councils of their rulers: they hold high office and they command general respect. They begin to assimilate the learning and wisdom of this polished race. They are ceasing to be parochial in their outlook. They are an integral part of a far-extending empire. In them we hardly recognize the fierce hillmen of the past. And then is advent of Alexander, the break up of his dominion, the interminable wars of his generals, and Palestine once more cockpit of the East; early conditions revive, and we find the Jew once more centralized in Jerusalem, the same old fighter of the past, but now with a touch of fanaticism to inflame his courage to still whiter heat. In the past, with varying fortunes he had turned to strange gods, but now, save for one brief interval when seduced by the witching charm of Hellenism he abandons Jehovah for Jupiter—to the end he is to know no God but his own. And pre-eminent amongst the nations is to be this God of his holy books, the God of his worship and years are to pass by the thousand and that same God is still to be sole God of his adoration. But it was never given to them as a people to read aright the times and seasons. Under David and Solomon, in alliance with Tyre, they had established themselves as the great power of the East. Under the Maccabees, unless paralysed by faction,

they had revived that kingdom and bidden defiance to Rome itself. But to himself the Jew ever worst enemy, such things were not to be. To him temporal power was not to be given. But to-day, in his great traditions, his indefatigable energy, and his sterling qualities, he is one of the great forces of the world. And above all we must never pass by the supreme fact that He who is the ideal of our race and the hope of our future was Himself one of this people, and at a time when it was pre-eminent amongst the families of the earth. Proud scion of a mighty house, it was of no mean nation that our Master was the chief.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE FALL OF ASSYRIA.

¶ 10. And now, as we have said, we are to see the Jew in the one tranquil period of his history. He has been carried away captive, and his captivity has been made bitter to him; but it has saved him as a nation. This was B.C. 588. Fifty years of this degradation have passed, and now—change miraculous—his liberator appears, and he is delivered from bondage. And Cyrus is the chosen of his God. "Thus saith the Lord thy redeemer . . . that saith of Cyrus, he is My shepherd, and shall perform all My pleasure" (Isaiah xlv. 28), and the goodwill of this greatest of monarchs is to settle the relationships of the Jew to the empire until its close.

And now let us glance at a few of the more important dates of this period. Far different the tale they tell to the horrible times indicated in our prior list. Family disputes, disputes between them and their kin, the Samaritans, and others trouble, but under a common overlord they reach no serious proportions.

538. *Cyrus takes Babylon.*

536. *Authorizes rebuilding of Temple at Jerusalem. Partial return of exiles under*

- Zerubbabel. The other people of the land would assist. Their offer refused.*
529. *Cyrus killed in battle. Cambyses succeeds.*
522. *Smerdis, a puppet king, usurps the throne. Building of Temple stopped.*
521. *Darius elected king by fellow nobles.*
520. *Darius approves completion of Temple. Haggai upbraids the people, as does Zechariah.*
516. *Temple finished and dedicated following year.*
490. *Battle of Marathon.*
485. *Xerxes. Ahasuerus of Esther.*
480. *Thermopylae, &c.*
478. *Esther made queen.*
465. *Artaxerxes.*
458. *Ezra, with further exiles, goes to Jerusalem.*
446. *Nehemiah, cupbearer to Artaxerxes, made Governor of Jerusalem.*
445. *Rebuilds walls. Is opposed by Sanballat and others.*
444. *Ezra delivers law. Malachi denounces the people.*
434. *Nehemiah returns to Babylon.*
424. *Darius II.*
404. *Artaxerxes II.*
401. *Retreat of the Ten Thousand.*
359. *Artaxerxes III.*
336. *Darius III. (Philip II., Macedon, assassinated.) Manasseh, son of High Priest, married to daughter of Sanballat, Governor of Samaria.*
334. *Alexander crosses Hellespont; battle of Granicus.*
333. *Battle of the Issus.*
332. *Takes Tyre and Gaza, and subdues Palestine and Egypt, and founds Alexandria. Sanctions Temple on Mt. Gerizim. Is gracious to the Jews on account of a vision.*

11. The break up of Alexander's empire and its unhappy results we have touched upon, but from B.C. 538 to B.C. 333 the Jews are to have two solid centuries of almost absolute prosperity. And these are to mould their character through all time. Faithful dependents of Persia, they proved that none could more excel in the arts of peace, but it was as "a man of war from his youth" that they compelled respect. In the capture of Babylon they had done Cyrus some service, probably some signal service, which no doubt he was anxious to see in its most favourable light so that he might have excuse to favour and attach this people to him. Certainly he could rely on their loathing for the Assyrian. All this we realize in Ezra and Nehemiah and in the happy pages of Esther. This last, whether reality or romance, as some would have it, is equally significant of the the favour they enjoyed. And they would rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem. We read of the magnificent way in which Cyrus furthered the proposal; of the golden vessels taken by Nebuchadnezzar that he restored; of the great presents that he made; and of the regard which he showed. Thus sped on his way, Zerubbabel returns to Jerusalem. Enthusiasm is at its height; many of necessity have to be left behind, but it is a large band of exiles that join him as once more they seek the land of their fathers. And now the great day has arrived and, amidst unparalleled rejoicing, the foundations of the Temple are laid. And then the touch so natural. "But many of the priests and Levites and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men that had seen the first house, when the foundations of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice, and many shouted aloud for joy. So that the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people; for the people shouted with a loud shout, and the noise was heard afar off."

And with the fortunes of their Temple their own are to be intimately interwoven through the centuries

to come. Notwithstanding its auspicious commencement, its building is to drag along but slowly at first—new conditions of life are not instantly improvised—and perhaps sentimental exaltation had to give way to the more prosaic necessities of actual life. Such reading between the lines would seem to be the account we find in Ezra and Nehemiah. But a hundred years is to see it restored, and then gradually it gathers to itself the traditions of the past. Phoenix-like it arises from its ashes; mankind becomes more and more impressed until at last it has become one of the holy places of the world. Later on we are to see it receiving presents from every nation, whilst under the Syrian-Greek dynasty there are times when we see Babylon even making herself chargeable with the maintenance of its services. And apparently about this time grew up the custom for every Jew wherever settled to pay two drachmae annually to its treasury, so that it became fabulously rich. Politically as well as religiously it served to consolidate the race, all eyes being fixed upon it as centre of their hopes. In its story we shall find it plundered at times, but until the end it is only once to know cessation of the worship of Jehovah, and this is when, by almost universal consent the worship of Jupiter was substituted in its place. This, we shall see, was about B.C. 170, when Antiochus Epiphanes was overlord, and was part of an extreme Hellenizing movement which had apparently won the whole nation. But it was met by the passionate outburst of a small Puritan remnant in violent antagonism to the emotionalism so much associated with such cults, and in the rising of the Maccabees was found expression of this deep underlying national sentiment. This, as years passed, was intensified by a growing antipathy to their Greek masters, and though it never succeeded in wholly uniting the nation, yet it was to prove the dominant note of the race through its many subsequent changes of fortune. The rites and sacrifices then instituted; the abomination of desolation then set up became regarded with general horror; and in this

at least they were one, that never again was their Temple to be profaned by image of a god. As their hate of the Greek intensified, so did their pride increase in this distinctive article of their faith. And in this they carried with them many of the thinkers of the old world. God was a spirit, and it was impious to try and give Him form or substance. Then we are to follow its fortunes when Herod so beautifies, enlarges, and rebuilds it as to make it almost a new, or third temple. But this change is the work of love. Not till A.D. 64, many years after his death, was it completed, and then some six short years more and in A.D. 70, when Jerusalem was taken by Titus, it was destroyed, and with it the Jews as a nation also ceased to exist.

12. But to return: we have now to follow the fortunes of the Jews both in Jerusalem and in Babylon. In Jerusalem their prosperity is of a somewhat humdrum nature, but in Babylon their story is one of steady and brilliant success. Essentially they were people who could be relied upon. They were both straight and able, and they commanded the confidence of their masters. We have an example of this in Nineveh. Here we see Achiacharus, the nephew of Tobit, the keeper of the signet, cupbearer and chief minister of Esarhaddon. So the new empire has many posts to be filled, and the king delights to do them honour. In Daniel we see the jealousy of the Persians at their advancement, but ability and integrity will not be denied. Thus no post is too great for their merit. Daniel was next to the king; Ezra, later on, we see in high favour with Artaxerxes; Whilst Nehemiah was his cupbearer. Before this Esther had been made queen to his predecessor, and we read her fortunes and those of her people in one of the prettiest love tales of the world. As a work of art it is exquisitely told, but this, surely, is no sufficient reason for dismissing it as all fable. It fits into its niche as an historical fact far too well to be all imagination. To consolidate the heterogeneous elements of the empire into a solid

whole against the now dangerous Greek seems most obvious of policy, and this relation of the Jews to it is to last until it succumbs to Alexander. Then there is to be a change. With the Jew and Persian there was always an undercurrent of kindly feeling; but it was otherwise with him and the Greek. More than mere personal jealousy underlay the animosity of Haman the "Agagite," i.e. the Macedonian, to Mordecai the Jew. It was the racial cleavage of two peoples representing two distinct veins of world thought. As the Greek advanced and Babylon waned in importance, the hopes of the Jews began once more to centre round Jerusalem, and though a colony remained there for many centuries, its pre-eminence steadily declined. The First Epistle of Peter, judging from its close, seems to have been written from there—"The church that is at Babylon elected together with you, saluteth you." But it seems to have played no further part of any importance in their history.

Returning to Jerusalem itself, we find very much what we should expect. The great enthusiasm of the first days of the return has somewhat cooled, and they have begun to settle down to their old simple peasant lives. Probably they regret the fertile plains of the Euphrates and find their daily task more toilsome than before. On their arrival on the wave of royal favour the old inhabitants of the land had been anxious to join with them in the rebuilding of the Temple. Some of them claimed to be of the same ancestry and made much of their common kinship. But their offer of help was contemptuously refused. In revenge they used every petty art to hinder and delay the work. Fortunately a strong overlord in the Persian prevented actual war, and their machinations had mostly to be kept to tale-bearing alone. However, they succeeded in stopping the building of the Temple until the second year of the reign of Darius. Probably the returned exiles themselves were not altogether unwilling to stay the work. From the flaming invective of Haggai this would rather seem to have been the

case. Zechariah was as urgent, but encouraged them with promise of its coming glory. Meantime, they are wholly given up to worldly thoughts, and these of no high order. We know that they had not "The Law." This, as Ezra afterwards tells us, had been burnt, and they had made no effort to supply the deficiency. But evidently for the time being there was a revival of religious fervour. Darius is petitioned, and he proves favourable to them. Accordingly the Temple is recommenced, and in the year B.C. 516, i.e. some four years later, it is completed.

And now again they settle down to their simple life, but the new feature is that they are living harmoniously with their neighbours. They mix together, trade together, and they intermarry. And in particular reasons of high policy suggest alliances between the ruling families. The grandson of Eliashib, the High Priest, marries the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite (Sinnuballet is a great name in the adjacent kingdom of Babylonia*), exactly as, a hundred years later, we find Manasseh, the son of the High Priest of his day marrying the daughter of another Sanballat—probably a family name of the Governor of Samaria.† These seem to have been the principal incidents in their uneventful story until the coming of Ezra from Babylon in the year B.C. 458. Eighty years have passed since the first return of the exiles; some three generations of Babylonian Jews, or more, have now found Jerusalem their home; they have fused with their kinsmen who preceded them, and it is once more beginning to revive as a city, though maybe a humble one.

13. In contrast we return to Babylon. The oldest of cities, hoary with age when Athens was but young, we know it in more detail and with greater accuracy than many a mushroom town that our own times have seen rise and pass away. Its recovery from the past

* The Hammurabi Code, R., col. V

† Josephus, Antiq. xi. 8, 1.

is one of the marvels of the spade, of erudition and archaeological science. In the glowing pages of the Bible we see it in all its dreamy and poetical beauty and grandeur. Probably the description there found conjures up after the manner of the impressionist a better concept of this mighty city than when made out in metes and bounds by modern discoveries. Herodotus fills in the drawing with more circumstance and gathers in his pages, as is his wont, all the interesting folk lore, traditions, and nursery stories which make his account so picturesque and satisfactory. And now it is given to us to see that most amazing centre of civilization in a perfection of completeness which the Bible never attempts to suggest, and which to Herodotus was a sealed book. But all are wanted for the full picture. In our discoveries we analytically examine a dead past; in Herodotus we have the description of a great student; but in the Bible it is the very city itself in which we live. It requires no great effort to fill in its scenes with the details more recently acquired. We still see it in its huge extent, with its mighty tower of Belus, with its higher and lower Temples, bidding defiance, as it were, to the very clouds. Then we almost hear the clang of their chariots on the tremendous walls some 350 units in height,* and we see the gardens that Nebuchadnezzar built to please an exigent wife, that were one of the seven wonders of the world. Then we see its broad roads, its brazen gates, and its dividing river, and we hear the busy hum of its people, the cries of its merchants, the roar of its traffic. Then in every grade society meets the eye. Here is the stately noble, the full-robed priest, the proud soldier; there the humble trader, the patient worker, or a servile rabble of miserable captives and slaves. And every people is to be seen there—Phoenician, Arabian, Persian, and

* What the unit is we do not know, but the walls, vast as they were, could not have exceeded the tower—156 (?) units—in height.

Mede, with strangers from Greece itself, and over all the cruel Assyrian race. And in particular, ground in the mire, is the wretched Jew, whom in especial his master hated, even if he did not despise him.

And we follow them into deeper realms of thought. We take down our George Smith and we revel in their wondrous poetry, its glowing imagery, its fervid imagination. Here we find the germ of all subsequent epic and wonder-story that have delighted mankind, and in their telling is the beginning of our religious and intellectual life. And it is not without a certain gratification that our thoughts pass to the genius of our countryman, which enabled him to read the riddle of those mysterious clay tablets, the treasure of our British Museum. Tablets!—it almost stuns the imagination—tablets upon some of which Abraham himself might have looked. The majority are copies by later Assyrian kings of originals which had then to be sought in Babylon; but one or two of the very originals are supposed to find place in the collection. And now we turn to the more prosaic duller realms of law, and we study their amazing code of Hammurabi. As a code it is unsurpassed to this day. This it owes to being the embodiment of the customary law of the period as evidently found in the decisions of actual cases. Underlying the whole is a shrewd, sound, commonsense and a very practical conception of justice itself. On the whole it reflects a high humanitarian standard as well. The penalties no doubt are extreme, but probably, as with our enactments, represent the maximum punishment to be imposed. One pleasing feature is that whilst slavery is recognized, yet at the same time there is no great difference made in the damages to be paid for the accidental killing of a free citizen or the humbler servant. And this code was nearly two thousand years old at the time the Jewish exiles were in Babylon, and it was evidently founded on a prior code then in existence. Its provisions give us an insight into their social and domestic relations as only skilfully epito-

mised law can do. And then the spade takes up the tale. We come now to the time of Cyrus, and most striking of recoveries; we see its people at this period in their actual trade with the world at large. In clay jars have been discovered the archives of one of the great banking houses of the past. Its documents are the same imperishable clay tablets as those of their poems and holy writings. In sequence these are to be found until the time when Alexander the Great is master of the empire. Hundreds of years are comprised in their accounts. And now our magnates of finance will tell us that we have here a system of exchange which in essentials is identical with that now in use in our own vast system of commerce. Apparently they had business ramifications the world over, with the same need for the free and easy transfer of bullion or bullion's worth that we have. And as they solved the problem so have we solved it. With us in this solution the Jews have always played a great part. Did it originate with these exiles, or were they already initiated in its mysteries? We have the account of how Tobit, a captive in Nineveh, became purveyor to Sargon, and how, to provide against accidents, he deposited with an Israelitish brother in Media ten talents of silver against documents which in due course were duly recognized and honoured. Again, in Esther we see how the Jewish colonists were even then to be found in every part of the empire, and in numbers which, if correct, are somewhat surprising. If they are, they would seem to indicate that the Jews had gone farther afield as colonists and at an earlier date than hitherto supposed. In an ever full cradle we may perhaps find the key to many of their social and historical problems as to our own. They were an enterprising people, and ever ready to seek their fortunes in other lands. This, however, is only surmise founded on the figures given as mentioned in Esther. But to a people whose temple was at Jerusalem but whose country was the world, we can see how a banking system such as we have mentioned would fit in with their polity. Its very

essential was having reliable agents in every place dealt with. These more than any nation the Jews would have, and thus of very necessity to them sooner or later this vast and also profitable business of finance must have gravitated. Probably the temple at Jerusalem also served as a clearing house for their exchange as well as being the centre of their faith. Later on, under the Greek dynasty, we know that it was used as a treasury where deposits could be made for safe keeping. Thus in a double way we see the temple fitting in with the lives of the people, and the more we appreciate this the more we realize what an appalling disaster it proved when the end came and it was totally destroyed.

Taken by Cyrus, though the capital of the new empire was now Susa, Babylon still remained an administrative centre of highest importance. The prudent sagacity of Cyrus led him to disturb existing conditions as little as possible, and in this enlightened policy we see the key to the rapid consolidation of his conquests. To the people his success meant little more than change of master; and when this brought them a strong rule and strict justice, with all the added amenities of life which these imply, they quickly acquiesced in the new conditions which brought them so many solid advantages. This was even the case with the Greeks in Asia Minor. As for the Jews they absolutely rejoiced in his success. Of course their case was an extreme one. They had not even been subjects of the Assyrian, but had been his abused and despised slaves. Cyrus was "their deliverer," "the anointed of the Lord"; their messiah; the shepherd of their God. No terms were too extravagant in which to express their admiration of him and their joy in their new master. In the black days of the Assyrian cruelty, these poor exiles had clung to their memories and their faith as the one tie with a once happier past. And now, coming to the time of Ezra, that hideous nightmare is gone, and Babylon itself is no longer a city of horrors. For eighty years it has

proved a veritable house of promise. It is the hub of civilization. It has a learning and society hardly to be matched elsewhere. It is the acme of culture, and in it art, literature, and religion itself are to find a congenial home. It is a centre of the refinement the cultivated Jew has ever loved and to which he has ever contributed his part. Later on it is to be replaced by Alexandria, but meantime it knows no serious rival. True, the fame of the Greek is beginning to be whispered, but it is a whisper as yet hardly heard. For the present it is Babylon which is the proud city of the proudest empire in the world, and in her it is the Jew who is one of the first and proudest of her citizens and chiefs.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MISSION OF EZRA.

¶ 14. EIGHTY years, as said, have passed since the return of the first contingent of exiles, and we now see Ezra the Scribe, who is in high favour with Artaxerxes, sent by him and his seven counsellors to enquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem, and to carry with him the gold and silver offered by the king and his counsellors unto the God of Israel whose habitation is in its temple. And Ezra is given great powers both to appoint magistrates and to teach the law and to execute judgment—death, banishment, confiscation, or imprisonment—on all such as fail to do his commands.

They set out with high enthusiasm not unlike that of their first kinsfolk, for they are to visit the home of their fathers and worship their God in His own house. With ourselves, England is never so dear as when far from her, and with some of our colonial brothers it is the old country that is still home. To them it is a sacred place with sacred memories. And so it would seem with these residents in Babylon. There is a halo of romance about this ancient city of their

race, and subdued with suppressed excitement they are now to look upon it. We have a picturesque account of their journey and of its dangers; of the treasure they took with them; of their arrival, and of the delivery of the king's commission. And now the very next verse is disillusion absolute and complete. Probably they were bound to be disappointed. Plant down some London habitués in a small provincial city with only attraction a not too magnificent cathedral, and you may possibly get some faint notion of what their feelings must have been. Our little island is one of the lovely gardens of the world; its archaeological treasures make it one of the show places of Europe, and with our colonial visitor the illusion may remain until the end. But these poor Babylonian enthusiasts! Imagine the city they had left, "This great Babylon that I have builded," fifteen miles square (? 15 square miles) and the mighty Euphrates flowing in its midst, and all on a scale of corresponding magnificence. And they arrive at a mean peasant city of no great dimensions, and the Temple—why their great tower of Belus would swallow a dozen such and not be incommoded. And the people! They have been mixing with the intellectuals of the empire and for eighty years as their peers. And these, are their kinsmen! They have been living in memories of a great past, but as far as actualities are concerned with little relation to facts as they have now to be faced. And still more, most unhappily in that past are memories of undying feuds and deathless hates; memories of peoples they loathed, of peoples who loathed them. Almost the very last act of their very brethren of Israel as a nation was to wipe out their holy city and to destroy its inhabitants. And now, now in this very city of David—the David they had abjured—they are actually inter-marrying with its inhabitants. And hardly arrived, and Shechaniah and his sons with the princes of his train, the priests, and the Levites overwhelm Ezra with accusations against their own kith and kin. They had done according to their abomina-

tions and had taken for themselves and their sons their daughters as wives; they had mingled the holy seed with the people of the land, and the princes and rulers also had been chief in the trespass. We will not enquire too nicely into the mainspring of their actions. Is it zeal for the law? Or is it disappointment born of disenchantment that thus finds assertion? We remember Christ and the woman of Samaria, and we also remember that Esther—also daughter of their people—they had given in marriage to a stranger, and that to this day it is celebrated as one of the glorious events of their history. That such a stranger was a mighty king, could it make a difference in essentials? What if these humbler marriages had healed the strife of centuries? What if they had restored peace to a distracted land? What if they tended to a united race, which meant its salvation in days to come? Were these reasons to sway the purists of Babylon? In the marriage of Queen Esther they in Babylon had found safety and consequence and dignity, but it was another matter when these despised fellows of their race dared similar lapse. And now was reinaugurated that policy which through the centuries is to pursue the Jew as a curse, and is only to find end when his city is obliterated and he as a nation no longer is to exist. And this is a great crisis in the history of civilization. What had been the world had a united people under the leadership of the Jews dominated their own land? We see the terrific struggle they could make for liberty when standing alone and torn by dissensions. And what if united they had opposed a solid front to those devastating scourges, Macedon and Rome? Again we will not speculate on the might-have-beens of history.

15. The great division between the children of Judah and the other Abrahamic tribes who mostly peopled the adjacent lands dates from the time when David and Solomon made attempt to centralize the kingdom in Jerusalem. It violated the sentiments of all but the elect Jews themselves in their most cher-

ished traditions. And why were they, the children of Israel, to change from the practices of their fathers? Their fathers had worshipped in no temple built by hand of man. The Tabernacle was a tent and above all, movable. A temple identified itself with one place, the tabernacle was the equal heritage of every tribe. Jerusalem was not the only holy place ordained by God; Bethel was sacred, as well as Salem. And they saw, and perhaps with reason, the arrogance and pride of their Jew brother and not the hand of God in this departure. To many it was concession to paganism pure and simple. It was the "nations" who worshipped in buildings of brick and stone, not the faithful. Solomon always had leaning to idolatry. What merit that in its building there was neither hammer nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house. This only proved that they knew they were workers of evil in giving up the tent prescribed by God Himself. And the evil it brought on the race in their subsequent divisions is undoubted. On their part the children of Judah thus first to wrong had sought to justify their evil conduct with a crusade of calumny against those they had injured. We injure a man, then lie about him. 'Tis human experience. There are charges and counter charges of mixing with alien blood. But a terrible past; the common appalling sufferings of both has at last banished these old feuds into the background of memory alone, and as a race they are beginning to consolidate. And we see inter-marrying taking place. It seems to have been amongst those claiming a common ancestry, and in any case races are not seriously affected by a few odd alliances with other people. Probably with the destruction of Nineveh many an Israelitish captive, with the homing instinct strong upon him, had again sought the land of his fathers, though with no flourish of trumpets as in the case of the Jew returning from Babylon. And now there seems a prospect of peace amongst this distracted people. Then we have the arrival of Ezra and his cortège, with all the pomp and panoply of

pride and power. We cannot but admire him, but also, we cannot help but ask, was he a happy selection to act as judge of his people. He was the literary man, the historian, the antiquarian, the dreamer, the man to whom the past of his people was far more a reality than was their present. And he lives in that past with all its fierce animosities and feuds, and he is heir to all the rancour and family hate which was then generated. And thus disposed to the neighbouring peoples he commences his mission of purification. In his story mankind rarely knows more cruel scourge than the untutored idealist with unbridled power. And with Ezra the facts almost approximated to these conditions. We see him in his work. He has no sense of actualities; he is confident in the purity of his motives, and he goes forward supremely unconscious of any suffering he may occasion. And he is to initiate a great reform; he is to initiate a policy that is to be a new era in ethical conception; he is now to mould the religious outlook of the Jew in the form that has survived to this day; but withal we cannot but ask, had it of necessity to be accompanied by reviving all the vendettas of a past? Rather might not his reforms have been more widespread, more effectual if in their initial stages they had comprised and not excluded those of his own kin? In particular the Samaritans were anxious as descendants of Jacob to identify themselves with the Jews, and they revived their bitter animosities only when their advances were repudiated with insolence and scorn. And urged on by his Babylonian contingent he speaks winged words; he carries conviction; there is wailing and lamentation, for has he not behind the commission, the might of the great Persian Empire itself? And nothing will satisfy, but wives must be divorced, children sent away, and homes broken up. Thus he awakes all the fierce animosities of the past. The die is cast and the policy is to be persisted in, and Nehemiah, a few years later, is to be as furiously fanatical. Thus we see him, with all the new arrivals,

violently out of sympathy with their first-returned brethren, and, above all, spurning their neighbours. No doubt, in their want of polish, they jarred exceedingly, but it was fatal for the race when they thus drove home their differences. Many would not give up their domestic life at the bidding of these proud upstart foreigners with more Persian refinement than was good for plain and simple people, and there was a general secession to Samaria. We know the insistent claim of the Samaritans that they were quite as much the descendants of the patriarchs as the Jews themselves, and that their blood was every whit as pure, but we are not in a position to judge between them. We have only the account of the Samaritan defection as found in the books of Ezra's editing, not likely to be too impartial, and a Samaritan purist might have waxed as eloquent over the marriage of Queen Esther and the terrible laxity it revealed. But the bitter feud between the two cities, and the resulting horrors of war which followed whenever the strong arm of a foreign master was removed is historical. Disdained by the Babylonian coterie, the Samaritans pursued their own fortunes, and at last, with the advent of Alexander their fortunes were equalized, and with his consent they built their rival temple on Mount Gerizim, of which the Manasses we have referred to became High Priest, and who was supported by the many other priests and Levites who had been similarly alienated from their own people. In their faith the Samaritans were the same as the Jews, though they severely limited their sacred books to the law alone. Of this their version is one of our most valuable possessions, and one of the earliest authorities for the ground it covers. But with the other sacred books which were collected or dictated they would have nothing to do whatever. Probably that Ezra was their dictator was more than ample warrant for their rejection. And the temple!—which they built; in which they worshipped the same God as did the Jews—it was their crowning crime to fan the

wrath of these implacables to a blaze of fury. And later on when, under the Maccabees, victory followed their arms and they triumphed over these miserable Samaritans, they razed their temple to the ground and destroyed their city with unspeakable ferocity. Then, that its place should be known no more they turned the waters of the streams upon it until it became as the wild or desert itself.

Thus terrible the denouement of the reign of hate once more established. It is the sowing of the wind; the reaping of the whirlwind is but postponed.

16. Many will rightly ask could Ezra have acted otherwise? Could he have carried out his scheme of reform without being ruthless as well? We cannot judge. At best we can say that such was not the attitude of our Lord to the Samaritans. Ezra was fervent in his conviction that his race had a divine mission, but it was for a greater than Ezra to teach that its mission was to the world and not to itself alone.

And thus we find Ezra mournful and distressed for the falling away of his people. It is not the mere intermarrying that grieves him, but it is what that intermarrying connotes. His people have forsaken the faith of their fathers; they are indifferent to the worship of their God. They have not got His law, in the great troubles it had been burnt; but they make no effort to replace it. Nor do they realize their loss. The very language in which it has been given them is becoming an unknown tongue, and their hearts are far more with the prevailing cults of the land. This he attributes to the influence of the alien tribes. His anger flames out against them. He does not realize that the causes of the defection are deep-seated in human nature, and that his people fall away not because others delude them, but because they delight in being deluded. And with him all is disappointment. With what expectations had he left Babylon! We see him there. His delight is in the records of their past. He boasts a pedigree to Aaron himself. He is a great

antiquarian and scholar, but he has no complete copy of their holy book. And in the Temple at Jerusalem surely he will make good his deficiency. Instead, there they were not even interested in it, and a hopeless indifference cankers the faith of prince, priest, and people alike. Nor in their culture or refinement does he find any redeeming feature. Mostly herdsmen and petty farmers, their thought rises but little above their vocations. And he muses on the Babylon he has left. Its very atmosphere was more congenial. In the days of the Assyrian it had been otherwise. In those days, despised, humiliated, enslaved, and cruelly treated, the slightest variance between them they magnified into a mountain of difference. Captives, they treasured their old faith as their one precious possession, and delighted in accentuating all that divided them from their hated oppressors. With the Persian, courted, beloved, and honoured, all was the reverse. Cordially they welcomed and incorporated in their thought everything they approved which was not inconsistent with their own beliefs. And between the two races there was no little in common. The Persian was near accepting the faith of the Jew in its purest conception, whilst in his turn the Jew was fortified in his belief by the great teaching of the Persian. With both we find the same vigorous note of life being a fight for the right. Superstitions were not and never will be wholly eradicated, but in their religion the ecstatic and the morbid had and was to have but little part. And as in the hands of Ezra we find the religion of the Jew more and more taking definite form, one great truth is ever thundered forth from which there is to be no departure—God is a God of righteousness, and is to be served and only served by a righteous life. In all the prophets alike rings out this same clarion note. "These are the things that ye shall do: speak ye every man the truth to his neighbour; execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates; and let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neighbour; and love no false oath; for all these are things that I hate, saith

the Lord." Thus Zechariah (viii. 16) and his message. And how tremendous is Amos (ii. 6); "Thus saith the Lord, 'For three transgressions of Ammon and for four I will not turn away the punishment thereof because they have ripped up the women with child of Gilead. . . . For three transgressions of Moab and for four I will not turn away the punishment thereof because he burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime. . . . For three transgressions of Judah . . .'" and so on; and then to Israel herself: "For three transgressions of Israel and for four I will not turn away the punishment thereof, because *they sold the righteous for silver and the poor for a pair of shoes.*" And read also the next verses as to the other sins of the flesh in which they indulged and for which they were also condemned. So Micah (vi. 10) demands: "Are there yet the treasures of wickedness in the house of the wicked, and the scant measure that is abominable. Shall I count them pure with the wicked balances, and with the bag of deceitful weights?" No uncertain note as to wherein righteousness consists, and thus to the end, to Malachi himself: "And I will come near to you to judgment; and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against false swearers, and against those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow, and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from his right, and fear not me, saith the Lord of Hosts." Where in so few words grander epitome of this great religion of the world? Nor was it a religion that admitted of divided allegiance. From the Persians Ezra may well have taken his uncompromising attitude. With them light and darkness symbolized our relations with the unseen. God or the Devil. With them you had to be servant of one or the other. You were a soldier. You were under this banner or under that banner, but never under both. There is to be no halting between two opinions; for or against. And the life you live determines the master whom you serve. And in the Jew it proved a healthy, virile creed, making for a good

citizen and a strong race. No doubt at a later period—but a period when we find all civilization making for dissolution—we find it overloaded with excessive refinements, with forms and shibboleths, but this grand central truth is never really abandoned. And that the Jew on the whole has fairly well lived his religion as well as preached it, is why, even to this day, he retains his identity amongst the children of men.

But, however regarded, this conception of God, as a God of righteousness, and His service that of a righteous life, marks an outstanding epoch in the history of the evolution of ethics.

17. It is essential to emphasize wherein lay the vital difference between the religion of the Jew and those of other nations, for we must not forget that in forms and rites and ceremonial it did not vastly differ from many others then in vogue. True the Jews had no visible representation of the deity, but otherwise their observances could be paralleled by those practised by other nations. Thus their Temple worship, with its imposing services, its singing and processions. In it there was little to differentiate it from that of other cults. Nothing was spared that could make it striking and magnificent. The dress of the High Priest in which he officiated was of fabulous value, and their plate and utensils were of gold; we have only to read Leviticus to realize the metriculous care with which every appointment was carried out. Then, with most pagan religions, they had their Holy of Holies into which it was death to enter for any save the High Priest. Further, in their regard for fire we find how much they had in common with old world superstitions and beliefs. In this particular instance the explanation is simple. In the days when matches were unknown the preservation of fire was necessary to the comfort of every tribe, whatever its religion. We see to-day how in similar circumstances savages make sacred or taboo everything essential to the safety or well-being of their little community. And so in those times. Of very necessity fire had to be similarly protected,

and thus whilst some even went the length of making it an actual object of worship, others, like the Persians, saw in flame the most perfect emblem of the spirit they adored. That the Jews also held it in high veneration we find from the following account in 2 Maccabees i. 16-36, which is a letter of much later date written by the Jews of Palestine to their brethren established in Egypt: (18) "Therefore whereas we are now purposed to keep the purification of the Temple upon the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, we thought it necessary to certify you thereof, that ye also might keep it as the feast of the tabernacles, and of the fire which was given us when Neemias offered sacrifice, after that he had builded the Temple and the altar. For when our fathers were led into Persia, the priests that were then devout took the fire of the altar privily, and hid it in an hollow place of a pit without water, where they kept it sure, so that the place was unknown to all men. Now, after many years, when it pleased God, Neemias being sent from the king of Persia, did send of the posterity of those priests that had hid it to the fire; but when they told us they found no fire, but thick water; then commanded he them to draw it up and to bring it, and when the sacrifices were laid on, Neemias commanded the priests to sprinkle the wood and the things laid thereupon with the water. When this was done, and the time came that the sun shone, which afore was hid in the cloud, there was a great fire kindled, so that every man marvelled." Then followed prayer by the priests and psalms of thanksgiving, when the narrative continues (31): "Now when the sacrifice was consumed Neemias commanded the water that was left to be poured on the great stones. When this was done, there was kindled a flame, but it was consumed by the light that shined from the altar. (33) So when this matter was known, it was told the king of Persia, that in the place where the priests that were led away had hid the fire, there appeared water, and that Neemias had purified the sacrifices therewith.

Then the king, inclosing the place, made it holy, after he had tried the matter. And the king took many gifts, and bestowed thereof on those whom he would gratify. (36) And Neemias called this thing Naphthar, which is as much as to say, a cleansing; but many men call it Nephi."

Thus the account, and strangest of facts the name naphtha is still in use with ourselves. But how differently that bursting into flames presents itself to us to what it must have done to them. A few words—crude oil, low flash point, sun's direct rays, and we do not give it a second thought. To them it must have been, to enlightened and unenlightened alike, most tremendous of miracles.

But God has no need of the unnecessary and miraculous to prove the grandeur of His work, and when He speaks we hear, whether we will or no. And that He spoke to the Jew and through the Jew who will doubt? And perhaps alike He has spoken to all men and through all men if only we could understand.

18. But the religion of the Jew has ever been a way hard to travel. The metaphysical, the mystical, the emotional, far less exigent always command their many votaries. And thus the many religions of antiquity. Nor is it in religion alone that we find the world divided into two great camps. Whatever the subject, we shall always have the sentimental, the dreamer, the ecstatic, the ascetic, the enthusiast, and the visionary on the one hand, and the practical man of affairs on the other. There always are many who see things as they think they should be or could be or they would have them to be, and the few who insist on seeing things as they really are. Both in extremes err, nor yet can we be assured that those between have grasp of the truth. Probably the truth is revealed to an infinite intelligence alone, and partial view is the very limitation of mortality. And above all has this point of view divided mankind in his attitude to the unseen. On the whole it is the first school that predominates. The masses are always

ruled by their emotions rather than by their reason, and then, as the psychologists tell us, the emotions having determined the complex, the only part left for the reason to play is to rationalize or justify such complex.

In the sixth book of the *Æneid* of Virgil we get a vivid description of the religion of his age. The story of the visit of Aeneas to the Sibyl of Cumae gives us an insight into the intensely emotional nature of these old-world beliefs. Arriving at Cumae, Aeneas is met by the priestess of Phoebus and Diana, who bids him sacrifice and follow her into the lofty temple.

"The huge side of an Euboean rock is cut into a cave, whither a hundred broad avenues lead, a hundred doors, whence rush forth as many voices, the responses of the sibyl. They had come to the threshold when thus the virgin exclaims: Now is the time to consult your fate. THE GOD! Lo, the God! While thus before the gate she speaks, on a sudden her looks change, her colour comes and goes, her locks are dishevelled, her breast heaves, and her fierce heart swells with enthusiastic rage; she appears in a larger form, her voice speaking her not a mortal now that she is inspired with the nearer influence of the God. Do you delay, Trojan Aeneas, she says, do you delay with thy vows and prayers? [Instantly begin;] for not until then shall the ample gates of this awe-stricken mansion unfold to the view. And having thus said she ceased."

Aeneas then makes prayer for protection, promises in return to build a temple of solid marble, and to appoint festal days and a spacious sanctuary for oracles.

"But the prophetess, as yet not suffering the influence of Phoebus, raves with wild outrage in the cave, struggling if possible to disburden her soul of the mighty God: so much the more he wearies her foaming lips, subduing her ferocious heart, and by bearing down her opposition moulds her to his will. And now the hundred spacious gates of the abode are opened of their own accord and pour forth the responses of the prophetess into the open air."

These are given in full, and it concludes:

"Thus from her holy cell the Cumaeen Sibyl delivers her mysterious oracles, and wrapping up truth in obscurity, bellows in her cave. Such reins Apollo shakes over her as she rages and deep in her breast he plies the goads. As soon as her fury ceased and her raving tongue was silent the hero Aeneas begins."

This version is from Bohn's edition (p. 224), and some of the epithets as translated are not exactly felicitous. And in them we have illustration of the immense difficulty of translating precise thought from one language into another, though here we get a clear idea of the sense as a whole. What stands out is how rooted was the belief in those times of actual physical possession by the God worshipped. This conviction is the one all-real fact in those religions of an ancient world. So, far from the worship being of mere stocks and stones, it was the very opposite: it was the worship of the very deity in his absolute presence at the very time and in the very place itself. And it had many ramifications and many developments. Many a tribe believed that actual conception was alone due to possession by the God, and hence the terrible stigma of barrenness. It indicated unworthiness and the displeasure of the deity that such visit was denied. Then also was the fervent belief that with the deity duly served identity could be secured, and that in such identity the votary might find eternal life. And this belief found confirmation in the many forms of ecstatic rapture which we now associate with hypnotism, but which in those times were attributed to the influence of some god. The imagination, violently worked upon by the emotions reinforced by fasting and abstraction, or by drugs and music and dancing in a thousand forms, was responsible for many a strange belief in those days as well as in these, though the final consummation as seen in the ravings of the sibyl was not given to all to share in. And it was in this sense that the ancient world understood deification. In this connection they never used the word God in the sense that we do. But we have long misunderstood these ancient beliefs and to this day it is the practice to regard the cults of the most degraded and ignorant as typical of all; and then how proudly we demolish them. But even to the polemic such perversion is wholly unnecessary. Between the religions of the Jews and those of their neighbours was a

cleavage and root difference which is in need of no factitious assistance to widen or accentuate it. There were two great schools of religious thought both magnificently championed, and if truth be told both utterly beyond the appreciation of the contemptible intelligences that clouded the world through a thousand of its darkest years. On the one hand were the glorious writings of the great Jew prophets with no small following amongst those of other creeds, and on the other some of the acutest metaphysical minds the world has ever known. The one thunders forth that God is a God of Righteousness and is worshipped and alone worshipped by a righteous life, whilst the other worships God as manifested in man, in nature and in His works. True, they had statues and paintings and figures and representations of their deity, but they no more worshipped them than does the intelligent Catholic the crucifix before which he bows. They are aids to reflection only. In contemplation of them is engendered an intensified conception of the deity with which they are associated. And as the devout thus dwells upon them—not with the careless look of the visitor but with the deep devotion of the worshipper—the deity himself becomes very present in spirit and according to the depth of the rapture is communion established between the two. We do really want to understand these things to appreciate what the Jewish religion really stood for. By the intelligent—and we are alone concerned with the intelligent—the so-termed worship of idols was very real worship of the actual potencies behind them. Nor did the Jew nor the apostles more doubt the reality of such powers than the worshippers themselves. Thus we have Paul himself in 1 Corinthians x. 20, writing, "But I say that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils and not to God, and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils." Again no passage could more conclusively illustrate how difficult it is to transfer precise ideas from one tongue to another. The word

devil as here used is a most unsatisfactory equivalent for the word *δαίμων* of the Greek. In Liddell and Scott the meanings given are

I. A god or goddess. II. The Deity, divine essence, *Lat numen*; fate, destiny, fortune good or bad. III. A name given to the souls of men of the golden age who formed the connecting link between gods and men, hence later, departed souls, *Lat Manes, Lemures*. IV. An evil spirit, devil.

Probably if one meaning exactly expresses what St. Paul did not intend to convey it is the last. He himself was too profound a metaphysician not to know exactly what he was talking about. He knew precisely what the pagan world believed. He knew that they were no worshippers of devils but that behind their pantheon of visualised deities they also worshipped the same First Cause as he himself worshipped, but yet for all that he will have none of their faith. He will not accept their conception of the Deity, and still less will he worship at their shrine. For himself he will only know God as seen in His revelation to the Jews, and in his further revelation in Jesus Christ. And it was because the Jew differed in these essentials—co-extensive with human nature itself—that we find him at variance with his fellow man. It was not his monotheistic outlook that made him objectionable—monotheism, almost pantheism itself, was the basic conception of every great religion of antiquity: the great tower of Belus at Babylon had its two temples, the lower one to Bel equivalent of Jupiter and with appropriate statue and the higher one to Bel, equivalent of the "Great Unknown" with no statue whatever—but it was that the ancient world in so many of its religions was intensely sensuous and emotional and in such emotionalism the true Jew faith would have no part or lot whatever.

19. And as we have remarked the faith of the Jew has always been a hard one for frail humanity, himself included. Hence his many lapses. We are all children of the imagination and the hypnotic sways

us, above all in times of mental or physical stress. And then we also seek strange gods, nor have the Jews been the only people to fall into idolatry. The worship of their neighbours appealed to their human longings and desires. Their God is a magnificent revelation, but they would joy in deities less exigent. Jezebel was a daughter of Zidon and the Zidonians were to give their Aphrodite to the Greeks. The Philistine delighted in like senuous worship, and the Syrian Adonis had ineffable attractions. To them alone was denied the rapture of ecstasy and exaltation. Maybe the high central note—oneness with the deity—the spiritual conception for the truly spiritual had no full meaning for them, but all the surroundings, the embroideries of the worship, were alluring and their very being tingled with passion and anticipation. On the surface all is seductive past words. To every mind is its own especial appeal. Nature is the prompting of these religions in their many forms. And thus we have their visions, their oracles, their soothsayings, their spirit writings, their voices of the unseen, their spirit communication so dear to every man both then and now. And on every occasion the god is to be consulted, whether in the life of the state or the life of the family. For centuries Rome never embarked on the most trivial of affairs without its ministers first consulting its protecting deities. Nor was any office more honoured than this of augur. It was the pride of the proudest in the land. Nor were the humble less well provided for. Lucky and unlucky days could be infallibly distinguished, whilst signs and omens taught times and seasons and the will of the gods. And the Jew!—"There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a necromancer. For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord."* Hard, hard and cold,

*Deut. xviii. 10.

for was not the Jew human as other men? But his God will have none of these things.

"There shall not be found any among you that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire." This is not a reference to the sacrifice of children to Moloch, but to the service of purification the "naphthah," their cleansing which played so large a part in all those ancient cults. Every would-be votary was besmirched with mortal taint, and before he could even approach the deity this service of purification was essential. This might be by sprinkling with the blood of the sacrifice or with holy water, or by fire itself. All efficacious, but thrice happy the child cleansed in its baptism of fire and thus presented to its god. And to the God of the Jew it was an abomination. And those processions; those gorgeous ceremonies; those temple celebrations; those festivals, all so magnificent and—all equally an abomination. "Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery? For they say, The Lord seeth us not, the Lord hath forsaken the earth. He said also unto me, Turn thou yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations that they do. Then He brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was to the north; and behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz."* What volume of meaning in these few words—weeping for Tammuz; Tammuz, the Dumuzzi of the Chaldeans, the youth, the beloved and lost of Ishtar, the Venus to be in days to come. The cult with but change of name was to take deep root in Syria, from whence it was to pass into Greece and Rome. By Byblos there is the little river Adonis. In the autumn it runs red with the soil it brings down in its course, and round this a pretty story is woven. The youth Adonis has been hunting and has been killed by a boar, and it is his blood that reddens the stream. And search is made for his corpse. And found—wild are the lamenta-

*Ezekiel viii. 12-15.

tions made over it and frenzied his funeral rites, even to their gashing themselves with knives. And then is his resurrection, and as magnificent the feast of rejoicing. Unhappily at this a licentiousness prevailed which was one of the strange and dark features of these ancient celebrations. We remember how Aaron made a golden calf, and how Moses returning from the Mount found people indulging in wild deeds of shame, and how he slew three thousand of them. He will have none of it, he abhors it, and his spirit is in Ezra. This abandonment to feeling is altogether unwholesome, if nothing else. It makes for enervation and the decadence of any race that gives way to it. Probably the rapid degeneracy of the Greek was as much due to his emotionalism in later days as to any other cause. He played with fire, and the fire burnt him. No doubt the ancient world justified these things with the hidden meaning that was to be found beneath them all. Thus, in the death and resurrection of Adonis, as instanced, we have an example of that adoration of nature in her reproductive powers which has played so large a part in these religions of the past. And from this we pass to still deeper symbolism, and in winter and summer, in the setting and rising of the sun, in the sowing of the seed and the reaping of the harvest is profound allegory to be realized of the birth and death and immortality of the soul.* It is not in its esoteric meaning that this worship is to be condemned, but in the wild sensationalism by which it was accompanied. This justification, this qualification applies to most of these cults alike. The deity of the ancients was visualized in his attributes. Some were purest of conceptions, the many lent themselves to orgies of a sensual and demoralizing type. The underlying idea may have been sublime, but in practice the resulting scenes were far from edifying. The memorable description of the pilgrimage to Bubastis by Herodotus is well in point:

*Hymn to Ceres, *Homer*.

"Now when they are being conveyed to the city of Bubastis they act as follows, for men and women embark together, and great numbers of both sexes in every barge. Some of the women have castanets on which they play, and the men play on the flute the whole voyage. The rest of the women and the men sing and clap their hands together at the same time. When in the course of their passage they come to any town they lay their barge near to land and do as follows: some of the women do as I have described; others shout and scoff at (query, with) the women of the place; some dance and others stand up and expose themselves. This they do at every town by the river side. When they arrive at Bubastis they celebrate the feast, offering up great sacrifices, and more wine is consumed at this festival than in all the rest of the year. What with men and women, besides children, they congregate as the inhabitants say to the number of seven hundred thousand. I have already related how they celebrate the festival of Isis in the city of Busiris, and besides, all the men and women to the number of many myriads beat themselves after the sacrifice, but for whom they beat themselves it were impious for me to divulge."

Herodotus, born soon after Marathon, was practically a contemporary of Ezra, and so in his accounts we practically see those religions as Ezra himself saw them. This is valuable, as it gives us the exact atmosphere of the times in which he wrote. And we can realize how his soul must have burned to see his own people given up to these abominations. And we can enter into the spirit of the fierce invective of Malachi (ii. 11-13): "Judah hath dealt treacherously, and an abomination is committed in Israel and in Jerusalem; for Judah hath profaned the holiness of the Lord which He loved, and hath married the daughter of a strange god. . . . And this have ye done again, covering the altar of the Lord with tears, with weeping, and with crying out, insomuch that He regardeth not the offering any more or receiveth it with goodwill at your hand." And for all their apparent exuberance these religions were not really happy ones. But ever it has been, in life there is but one fact, one reality alone—death. And the unknown, the dark, has always overwhelmed with its vague terrors. And with them, in that grim future, was one outstanding

horror—the Day of Judgment. In that dread hour every soul would have to make answer for its life here. In Egypt, in the balances of Osiris, it would be weighed, and woe if weighed and it prove wanting. And still more awful Dis, or Pluto, stern judge of Greek belief. Too late to now bewail. One swift review: in lurid light the most secret thought is laid bare; no act is passed by; no sin is forgotten, and answer must be made. And no expiation made, no sacrifice offered, no penance done, and Tartarus—Tartarus as terrible as any hell of mediaeval imagining—yawns for that poor blasted soul. Yes, most grievous bondage those old faiths. And where escape? Let hecatombs propitiate and gifts placate. Let purification and ministrations and lustrations be made, and vows be paid. In fastings and chastity; in abstinence from meat and alcohol; in mastery of the flesh; in the supremacy of the soul, let sanctification be sought. Avoid the torment that awaits by self-torment here. In lashing with whips, in gashing with knives, in asceticism, in mortification, in defiance of this life itself earn bliss in that day to come. And see, now in this very earthly state is assurance given that the deity is with you. A divine frenzy seizes you; it is the holy god himself that fills you with his being. Thus climax of emotionalism, and as we have before remarked, not far removed from madness itself.

CHAPTER X.

THE GIVING OF THE LAW.

¶ 20. And Ezra, fresh from the purer atmosphere of Persian thought, is full of trouble now that he is in the holy city of his dreams. All so different to his expectations. Eastern hyperbole may cover the extravagances of grief attributed to him and to Nehemiah who joined him; but under it all is a profound heartache which is touching and beyond doubt. And he knew only one remedy. To give his people

again the law which they had lost, and worse, which they did not seem to miss. The second part of Esdras is a very beautiful book. It is essentially Oriental in its cast of thought and in its strain of argument. Like Abraham, Ezra talks face to face with God, and the burden of his cry is, Why are the people of the Lord thus ever abandoned by Him? In style it is reminiscent of Job, but the main motif is that he has been specially called to bring back his nation to its true faith, and however hopeless that he must persevere. "Behold, Lord," he says, "I will go as Thou hast commanded me and reprove the people which are present; but they that shall be born afterward, who shall admonish them? Thus the world is set in darkness and they that dwell therein are without light. For Thy law is burnt, therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of Thee or the works that shall begin. But if I have found grace before Thee, send the Holy Ghost into me, and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning, which were written in Thy law, that men may find Thy path and that they which will live in the latter day may live." *

In passing we must again draw attention to the difficulty of translating precise thought from one language into another. Here in the use of the words "Holy Ghost" we have a sad anachronism. It may be a correct equivalent of the original or it may not, but our ideas at once run to the third person of the Trinity, a concept of nearly five centuries later. When anything important turns on the precise meaning of a word we realize how imperfect a tool is language for such purpose.

And continuing we have, "And he answered me saying, Go thy way, gather the people together and say unto them that they seek thee not for forty days. But look thou, prepare thee many box-trees, and take with thee Sarea, Dabria, Selemia, Ecanus, and Asiel, these five which are ready to write swiftly; and come hither and

* 2 Esdras xiv. 20-22.

I shall light a candle of understanding in thine heart, which shall not be put out till the things be performed which thou shalt begin to write. And when thou hast done some things shalt thou publish and some things thou shalt show secretly to the wise. To-morrow this hour shalt thou begin to write." Then Ezra seeks the people and having addressed them tells them that they are not to come after him nor to seek him these forty days. Then having taken the five scribes as commanded, he went into the field and there he dictated to them, and they wrote down two hundred and four books, of which the last seventy he reserved for such as were wise amongst the people.

There is always a delight in trying to reconstruct these old scenes of a past age, and in especial one so all-important to mankind as Ezra thus redelivering to the world these sacred books of the Jews. Imbued still with the old pagan ideas, there are some who have been inclined to think that like the Sibyl of Cumae inflamed by the god, Ezra, wholly unconscious of his message, was but the mouthpiece of words given him by the Deity to say. This theory is hardly consonant with the message itself, nor with the facts relating to it as we undoubtedly have them. That, like many another good man, he felt himself called by God to the work, and that he fervently believed himself helped and inspired by the spirit to carry it out, is undoubted, but few things would have grieved him more than to have suggested that, like a medium in a trance, he abandoned himself to ravings which to his God were an abomination. Nor did his message need it. As it is, it is one of the grandest given to humanity, and needs no factitious aids to magnify its merits.

He has given us many a book, faithfully reproduced, many a page of his then past, and yet if only we could see the writers themselves as they actually were, absolutely realize the conditions in which they spoke, how tremendously it would add to our insight into the kernel of what they taught. It is amazing how,

writing for particular occasions, God used their pen to speak His truths—truths which need no further proof than their own enunciation. These great writings are rarely at large, so to say. They are offspring of fiery zeal born of passing incidents, dealing with urgent current affairs. And hence they are so human, so all-penetrating. They are no mere platitudes, but truths wrung from experience. Take Haggai for example. His people are given to their vineyards, their olive-yards, their husbandry, their tillage, the building of houses—in other words, they are wholly engrossed with thoughts of temporal prosperity, and the House of the Lord is neglected, His temple is not built. "Ye sow much, and ye bring in little," and ever thus the nation that sets its eyes on material progress alone. The higher life must be sought from within, and not from without. And thus its message to all people and all ages.

21. And how these holy books have come down to us has been one of the engrossing questions of our times. Many theories have held the stage, but it is doubtful if we can find any more satisfactory than that just given in the writings themselves. It certainly fits in better with the facts than many a more elaborate hypothesis. In it we see Ezra, a Babylonian Jew, known as the scribe, and famous for his great learning. He is a profound antiquarian, and is saturated with everything that relates to his people and their story, whether in record, tradition, or in song. But in its complete state he has not got their holy law. It has been burnt. And he is called—of this he has not the slightest doubt—by his God to replace it. And more than any man he has the qualifications to do so. And we see him at his work. It has been preceded by a life-long preparation, and he has by him a mass of ill-digested material which he reduces to order as he thus dictates it to his scribes. His task is no easy one. He has a long thousand years to cover, in the main years of calamity and terror. We have read the list of horrors which made the history of this people

and which culminated in the sack and desolation of their city and temple and in the captivity itself. With printing unknown and writing rare, time makes ravages of matter better preserved. And in his work itself is evidence of the conditions under which it was produced. There is not a single source of information which he does not use. He lays under contribution every scintilla of fact or tradition that he can collect. But above all we note his reverence for his material. Some he lingers over with the love of an old virtuoso delighting in some gem of antiquity—the chant of Miriam, that grand war-song for instance, which we still have in archaic form. And where possible he gives us all he has saved. He does not collate. All is sacred to him. Hence some of the books of Moses. Exodus is obviously patchwork, whilst want of arrangement is noticeable in all. But all testimony to the fidelity of his work—a fidelity receiving corroboration from a strange quarter. The Samaritans, who probably hated Ezra more than any man who lived, yet accepted his version of the law. And with this acceptance of theirs a difficult question rises up. What were included in the two hundred books that Ezra dictated? Were they covered by all which the Samaritans took or were they more extensive? The non-acceptance of some by the Samaritans is far from conclusive of their not having been included. The Samaritan so hated the Jews that one is surprised not at what they repudiated, but at what they accepted. In their desire to be offensive they would no doubt give the pleasant reason they were far too redolent of Persian lore to be acceptable to any true son of Israel.

But what seems probable is that in Ezra's collection was to be found the nucleus of all the books ultimately included in the canon. These, of course, show signs of editing and re-editing again and again, e.g. in Nehemiah the list of High Priests is brought up to the end of the Persian Empire, and, in fact, finality is hardly reached a hundred years after Christ. But at the same time there are so many books which are so vivid, so

intense so obviously born of the terrific times and passions to which they belong, that by no possibility could any future age have wholly imagined them. The Lamentations of Jeremiah, most exquisite and pathetic of poems, must have been the work of one who had dearly loved and deeply suffered. It is inconceivable that we do not owe its preservation to Ezra. And then some of the songs of the captivity. They have the mournful note born of real and not imagined sorrow. And thus our ballad poetry. But in addition to these sources there seems little doubt that Ezra incorporated much of the learning of the Persians with which he was in full accord. They had a body of devotional writings, and in some of the psalms we recognize their sentiments, if not actual words. Then it is clear that he either used or checked his writing by the official records of the Persians as well as by the many inscriptions in clay and stone with which he must have been fully acquainted. With so much in common with their general notions, he naturally incorporated in his collection the then universally accepted Chaldean account of the creation of the world. And he had no reason to do otherwise. It was found in actual Chaldean books themselves to be read by him in originals dating before the time of Abraham himself. This we know for most amazing of facts one or two of these very originals we have in our own great British Museum. And more, the Jews prided themselves on being a Syrian tribe of Chaldean origin. Then, as to the nomenclature adopted by him or later editors. The general and convenient and not unparalleled idea seems to have been to attribute all proverbs to Solomon, all psalms to David, and all laws to Moses, save so far as there was reason for ascribing some particular writing to some particular individual. That Ezra was a singularly able and conscientious editor is proved by modern discoveries which so largely confirm most of what we owe to him. No doubt it is difficult to separate his original work from subsequent additions; but though it would be pleasing

to have his works exactly as he left them, yet we must not forget that they were living books or messages or sermons for living people, and as such were liable to change and amplification as occasion demanded. We have an instance in our law schools, and I doubt if our most revered Blackstone would now recognize the commentaries which still pass under his name. We have been rather misled by the tales told of the meticulous accuracy with which these writings were copied. But this was a phase of a much later period only in vogue after the canon had been settled, more than five hundred years after his time.

But the great outstanding fact is that, though there is change in form, now historical, now allegorical, now apocryphal, now apocalyptic, the underlying message is always the same, and the message till then was the highest message ever delivered to humanity. And it is the message that is all in all, and not the very human agency by which it has come down to us. But it is not all the message to man, and on the horizon is promise of the day when a greater than Ezra is to complete it in all its fulness, and in its perfection give it not to a people but to all mankind.

22. The convenient year, B.C. 444, is fixed upon as the one in which Ezra completed his work. Then next we are given a graphic description of the first public reading of the law thus recovered. But it was in the ancient tongue, and this was no longer spoken or understood by the people. "So they read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading." From a critical point of view this has had important consequences. It is to these readings, thus explained, that we owe a number of the books of the Apocrypha. These readings ultimately became so complete as to form a translation of the original writings into the spoken tongue, which was a mixture of Chaldean with local dialects, and which, known as eastern Aramaic, became the general language of the country. Hence it is we find in several of the books of our translation

of the Apocrypha the statement that they are not found in the Hebrew, e.g. "The Song of the Three Holy Children." Besides these works, the Apocrypha as we have it also includes writings of a relatively late period, but so far as books in it cover the same ground as those in the Old Testament, they are of the highest interest. Being translations of the Hebrew text in its earlier form, they enable us by a simple comparison to see to what extent such early Hebrew text was revised and altered by the editors of the canon. It is true that this earlier text is lost, but whilst we make every allowance for the difficulty of translation, yet for the substance of such earlier text the Apocrypha is of higher authority than the canon, and we get from it a better idea of what that ancient text must have been as a whole rather than from any later emendated text, though in the Hebrew. Where anything turns upon a particular word or phrase, this might perhaps be the more satisfactory, but for general features the former is the more reliable.

And this reading of the law was made the occasion of a great festival and the reviving of the Feast of Tabernacles, which had then fallen into desuetude. "And Nehemiah . . . and Ezra, the scribe, and the Levites that taught the people, said unto all the people, This day is holy unto the Lord your God; mourn not nor weep. For all the people wept when they heard the words of the Law." This note of joyousness in religion is a striking one, and one which our Lord above all made His own. And again it is a very real practical joyousness that is ordained. "Then he said unto them, Go your way, eat the fat and drink the sweet, and send portions unto them for whom nothing is prepared; for this day is holy unto your Lord: neither be ye sorry, for the joy of your Lord is your strength. So the Levites stilled all the peoples, saying, Hold your peace, for the day is holy; neither be ye grieved. And all the people went their way to eat, and to drink, and to send portions, and to make great mirth, because they had understood the words

that were declared unto them." All very different to later days, when the Pharisees made the law a burden and religion a parade. Then we read how they made themselves booths and celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles which "since the days of Joshua, the son of Nun, unto that day had not the children of Israel done so. And there was very great gladness."

23. And turning to the prophets we see exactly the same note struck; e.g. the magnificent fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah. It is not in the asceticism of religion that God delights; in the seeking of pain for pain's sake, common to so many other faiths, but in happiness and a practical joyousness. "Cry aloud; spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet and show my people their transgression and the house of Jacob its sin. Yet they seek me daily and delight to know my ways as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God: they ask of me the ordinances of justice: they take delight in approaching to God." Where, then, their transgression? we ask. "Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not? Wherefore have we afflicted our soul and thou takest no knowledge?" And then the stern reply: "Behold, in the day of your fast ye find pleasure and exact all your labours. Behold ye fast for strife and debate and to smite with the fist of wickedness: ye shall not fast as ye do this day to make your voice to be heard on high." And God will have nothing of such fasts. "Is it such a fast that I have chosen? A day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a bulrush and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call this a fast and an acceptable day to the Lord?" Where more withering scorn? Then God states the fast He has appointed: "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye brake every yoke. Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and that

thou hide not thyself from thy own flesh?" Was ever more precise definition of the fast God demanded, and alone demanded? And if such a fast, "Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy rereward."

And some are distressed at the conclusions of the higher critics, as if the inspired word ever demanded anything but its own enunciation to carry with it conviction absolute and complete. And do let us never forget that it is the truths we find in them that give the vehicle by which they are conveyed their supreme interest, and not the way the vehicle has come down to us that reinforces or vouches such truths. God's message speaks for itself, and we owe unending obligation to the scholars who, in showing us the conditions under which the words were spoken and the way they have come down to us, enable us to get truer and deeper insight into their meaning.

24. It is with a certain satisfaction we find that Nehemiah is ready to enforce a very practical righteousness in other cases as well as in these of mixed marriages. We are now to view these Babylonian purists, so altogether righteous in the matter of other people's lapses, in the less pleasing guise of usurers and oppressors of their brethren. The simple children of the soil had found a difficulty in raising the Persian tribute, and had availed themselves of the too easy assistance of their richer relations.* And the usual result followed, and they found themselves the slaves of these kindly kinsmen. "And there was a great cry of the people and of their wives against their brethren the Jews. We, our sons, and our daughters, are many. . . . We have mortgaged our lands, vine-

* In passing, we should remark that no peasant should ever be asked to pay taxes in money. It always throws him into the hands of the money lenders. His taxes should always take the form of seed corn, to be returned to him, and of part of his crop.

yards, and houses, that we might buy corn because of the dearth. . . . We have borrowed money for the king's tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards. Yet now, our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children"—surely this is an exclamation, though not so printed—"and lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought into bondage already; neither is it in our power to redeem them; for other men have our lands and vineyards.* And Nehemiah was very angry when he heard their cry and their words, and he called a great assembly and he rebuked the nobles and the rulers, and said unto them, "Ye exact usury, every one of his brother." And like Ezra he again speaks winged words; he also is a great changer of hearts; he also has all Persia behind him; and we delight in his practical measures; and he tears up all those mortgages; he remakes all those contracts on a fair basis; and he cries shame on them that they also forsake the law of their fathers.† "I said unto them, We after our ability have redeemed our brethren the Jews, which were sold unto the heathen; and will ye even sell your brethren? Then held they their peace and found nothing to answer." And if thus the treatment of their brethren, if thus they sold their brethren into slavery, what of other unfortunates with less claim to mercy, who fell into their hands? And they are to be the money-dealers and lenders of the future. We already see them with the money instinct developing, if not already developed. From Babylonian bankers they may well have learnt the mysteries of high finance, and in this we may probably find the secret history of their power and influence and may be of the hate borne them. Brother was to know mercy as well as justice—so far their religion was compulsory—but the alien! the foreigner! what was their religion to him, or he to their religion? And yet, if the Jew had

* Nehemiah v. 1, etc.

† The law as codified, we find in Lev. xxv. 25, *et. seq.*

realized—if a world had realized—that his law was of universal and not of limited application; that the blessing promised to follow its application was for no one people, but for all mankind, how far differently his history—and its history—might have been written in the centuries to be. But it was not so ordained. And this great truth is for another to teach.

CHAPTER XI.

THE EZREAN REGIME.

¶ 25. THUS far we have followed the need for the law; the writing of the law; the reading of the law; followed by quite a satisfactory example of the enforcing of the law. And just as the terrible times preceding the Persian rule had developed the fierce fighting instincts of the race, so now we are to see in this period of tranquillity that same national consciousness finding expression in their sacred writings. And reduced to writing, it is to persist and tinge the character of the race through all the ages to come. In these books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel we have a fair picture of the Persian rule as a whole. "It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes . . . and over these three presidents; of whom Daniel was first, that the princes might give accounts unto them, and the king should have no damage." The princes or governors seem to have had autocratic power, and probably, as far as the central government was concerned, their chief duty was the collection of the tribute and remitting it to the imperial treasury. This done, and their powers reasonably used, and it does not seem that they were much interfered with by the king or his presidents. Then, with favoured subjects like the Jews, the king was always careful to appoint as governors men who would be agreeable to them. And being part of the empire was far from being an unqualified evil. In addition to the protection it afforded, it carried with

it the right of appeal to the king against any oppressive official. And under a ruler like the first Darius the results were excellence itself. And even when other kings did not attain his high standard, still this right of appeal was invaluable. It is this right of appeal which is the kernel of freedom, the salt of every judicial system, and the safeguard of the unit. The one universal experience of mankind is that no man or body of men can be trusted with irresponsible power and not sooner or later abuse it. The all-essential of society is that the exercise of power in any form shall invariably be subject to outside independent examination or review. And this is one of the merits of a democracy. The greatest man in the kingdom, however autocratically inclined, has ever to keep his eye on the ballot-box. However anxious to dictate, he has to rely on influence. Influence is the power of these isles, and it is often the greater that it has to depend upon itself. Look at our great Queen Victoria. She believed in the purity of domestic life. She had no cut and dried powers to dictate; Queen Mary would have mocked her and Elizabeth have smiled, but it was she and not they who transformed a court and people to her liking. Let each one do his fair part in running the country; live a decent life according to a not too exigent standard, and the opinion is growing ever the stronger that our only further right over one another is the right to influence. Every man is equally entitled to think for himself. God has made all so differently that we are all bound to think differently, and it is well that we should so think differently. Society must be give and take. So far from a man being a sage or a saint who will tolerate no views but his own, he is but a poor conceited fool, and if he is in a position to have power and to use it he is an unqualified curse as well. Life together is and always must be compromise. And that system of society is best where that compromise is most justly ascertained and enforced. And the one curse that pursued the Jews through their history was that they

knew no compromise between themselves. Never was a race where party feeling and faction ran so high. And it was their ruin final and complete. For it they were not altogether to blame. It was largely due to their geographical position, as we have pointed out, but for all that the results were no less disastrous. As we have seen, their politics were simple enough in theory; it was the carrying of them out that was so difficult. Should they cast in their lot with this gentle thug of Egypt and escape strangling; or with that kindly cut-throat of Assyria and elude his pleasantries: this was the one supreme question that agitated them and, susceptible of no concession by either side, violently divided them into opposing factions or camps. And this violence of sentiment got into the blood; it became a racial complex, a part of the race genius itself, and it was their undoing. Whether they have learnt their lesson, whether mankind has learnt the lesson, who shall say? Perhaps most important question of all—have we ourselves learnt this lesson? To delimit this compromise, i.e. to do justice between man and man, is a matter of infinite difficulty, but surely more likely to be achieved by discussing questions in friendly conclave than by ever spoiling for a fight.

26. We follow the Persian regime as we find it established amongst the Jews. For the time being we see Ezra and Nehemiah with absolute powers as governors. Both were of high rank, and Ezra in particular boasted descent from Aaron, from whom (not from the house of David, not from the stem of Jesse), according to Josephus, nobility was virtually to be traced. And we are to find that for the future it is the High Priest who is to be the chief magistrate in the land. We thus gather how the idea developed of the rule being theocratic. As long as the Persian dominion continued their king was the Persian monarch. And so, when the Egyptian Greeks and the Syrian Greeks were overlords. But, subject to such overlordship, the High Priest not only exercised the powers of a

sovereign, but also was recognized as such by other nations. The union of the regal with priestly functions was general in those times. The difference was, with most nations the king became hierarch because he was king, whilst with the Jews the High Priest became king *de facto* because he was hierarch. When independence was secured and the overlordship of the Syrian Greek ended, the priest class naturally approved the flattering and convenient doctrine that they knew no king but God. The irony of it was that later on it was to prove a very double-edged sword indeed. It was one of those popular phrases to be appealed to according to the exigencies of the moment. It sounded well, and could mean anything or nothing at the will of the user. In days to come, when Rome had established her dominion it was this same priestly class who were so furiously opposed to the breaking with the empire. Readily they accepted Caesar as their lord. But not so the Zealots; irreconcilables and who enthusiastically made the same doctrine their great battle-cry. It was summation of their politics in a word; it united their ranks with an aspiration common to all, and they put it in the forefront of their propaganda as they hurled defiance at their rulers. This period, from the giving of the law by Ezra to the battle of the Issus, Alexander's first great victory over the Persians, B.C. 444-333, is probably one of the most important in the history of the Jews. It was one of comparative tranquillity, so much so that we have mostly to fill in by inference and deduction the story of these years. We have hazarded the idea that the money instinct had already become developed in the race. Probably during this period it must have been maturing. After Alexander's success, and when the Egyptian Greeks became overlords, we have a curious incident relating to the tribute which suggests roots in these days. Naturally, in the eyes of such overlords, its collection and punctual remittance was the one all-important duty of the governor or in the case of the Jews of their High Priest. About B.C. 250, when

Ptolemy Euergetes was overlord Onias held the sacred office, but although he had collected the tribute, he had failed to forward it to the imperial treasury. His omission was like to have occasioned serious trouble to himself and his people, and they were only saved from it by the judicious action of his young nephew Joseph. Having received permission to go to Egypt to intercede for the nation he there so ingratiated himself with the king that Ptolemy not only passed over the offence, but made him general collector of the tribute of other cities and provinces as well. When the day came for the king to let out the taxes to farm, Joseph accused the other bidders of having conspired together to undervalue them, and offered double the amount if let to himself. The king was pleased, and then asked for the usual security. The youth replied, "I give thee no other persons, O king, for my sureties than thyself and this thy wife, and you shall be security for both parties." So Ptolemy laughed, and gave him the farming of the taxes without any sureties.* Fable as this tale may be, yet probably underneath it is a substratum of fact, and we may be certain that then as now kings did not let their taxes to farm without some fair assurance that they would ultimately come to hand. In modern parlance, Joseph had no doubt substantial underwriters behind him, and the incident evidently indicates business conditions then already well established. While the glories (?) of war flame in every page of history the happy arts of peace have thus to be sought and dug out of the past; but certainly it would seem that dating from these Ezrean days we do see this people seeking its prosperity in steady and progressive industry and commerce. And we have only to study their law to realize how well it harmonizes with conduct, how essentially it tends to efficiency as a whole. It is intensely practical, and obedience to it cannot do other than bring prosperity in this life. Prosperity did not come with them by wishing or praying, but by the blessing of God on

* Joseph. Antiq., xii. 4, 4.

straight living and hard work. Industry was an integral part of their creed, and industry will never be denied above all when there is intelligence behind it. Give a Jew peaceful conditions and he prospers. That he is money-lender to so many rude tribes to-day is that he alone has anything to lend. Others laze and squander, and he works and saves. And very largely the world may share his prosperity if the world will adopt his habits of patient toil and wise economy. The world of to-day belongs to him who lives in the morrow, and be society what it may, there seems little chance that this law, the law of self-denial, will ever be denied.

27. And during this period—B.C. 444-333—the Jews prospered exceedingly. Of this we get glimpses in the vivid touch of the Talmud. "It is said that the Rabbi had a servant who was richer than the Emperor. He acquired his wealth from the sale of litter from the Rabbi's stables, which gives some idea of the number of animals which the Rabbi Judah possessed." We need not take this too literally, but it is suggestive of a princely establishment of some magnificence, and of which the Rabbi or High Priest was the recognized head. Probably co-extensive with this prosperity at home would be the extension of their foreign enterprise. In these years this may still have more identified itself with the Babylonian colony than with the Jews of Jerusalem. It is difficult to determine to what extent the home Jews did trade abroad, and probably agriculture or peasant farming must still have remained their staple industry. But generally, as time passes, we are beginning to find them further and further afield. Then, with the fall of Persia, and as Babylon waned in importance, they seem to have entered into its banking and commercial inheritance. And this may account for their receiving a consideration which neither their numbers nor their surface political importance would seem to warrant. And in particular we are to find that Jerusalem has once more become an important and strong city. And more, we

are to see its temple as the bank or even as the clearing house of their scattered people. Thus the presence of the money-changers in the time of our Lord in busy trim. As to its propriety there seems to have been divided opinion, as marked by the fact that our Lord was able to drive them out of its precincts. There is no reason to believe that during the Persian supremacy or even afterwards the connection with Babylon was ended, but there seems to have been a change in their relative importance. In fact, we are to find Jerusalem becoming so sufficiently distinct that for the future it is by Greek influence to be most largely affected. It is doubtful if it was as wholesome a one. At the same time it was especially seductive. It is about this time that we see the Greek mind in its resplendent magnificence. That the educated Jew delighting in culture could have escaped its influence was an impossibility. But under the aegis of their exquisite art was covertly introduced the old world religion, which in their hands became beautifully sunny, human, and rational. In anthropomorphic guise religion became an enchantment of delightful representations which appealed equally to the reason and the emotions. But for all that, at heart it was the old-world religion, more than ever in antagonism to the puritan simplicity of the true Jewish faith. As long as the Persian with his sterner teaching remained master it made no ostensible headway. The seed was sown, but the harvest was to be after Grecian arms had also established their supremacy. Meantime, until then is growing up and taking form this essential Jewish creed which is to throw down the gauntlet to that of the Greek, and in the end is to emerge triumphant. It was to prove one of the great moral victories of the world. With all its failings the Jewish ideal was far in advance of anything the Greek ever made his own. In the realms of talk no doubt the Greek was magnificent, but in a world's balance-sheet the only item that really counts is talk that also finds correspondence in life. Probably the devil's best

agent is the man who is fervently righteous for other folk. And it is during this period we see the Holy Books of the Jews taking definite form. How much as a race they owe to them is beyond calculation. What the singing of Homer was to the Greek and the Bible and Shakespeare to the Anglo-Saxon, such were they to the Jew. They consolidated the people, and in making them protagonists of one of the great moral movements of the world helped to preserve their identity to this day. To what extent they are to be actually traced to Ezra personally is difficult to determine, so completely did his mantle fall upon his immediate successors. We have noticed the reverential regard that Ezra had for the old texts, and the same spirit seems to have animated the immediate school that carried on his work. And it is a great debt we owe them. Patchwork in consequence, as we have observed, their work may have been, but to that fidelity we owe the preservation intact of some of the finest writings the world possesses. A later period we are to find under somewhat different influences, and there is no longer to be the same scrupulous regard for the ancient text in all its integrity. A great wave of literary progress is to mark these days, and certainly from a cultured point of view these subsequent editings may seem to be an improvement. Thus reading the same account in the Canon and the Apocrypha—for instance, the story of Esther—we are bound to confess that the latter has been rewritten by no mean scholar, and yet it is no such rewriting we desire. And then to meet the need of the passing hour we find many interpolations inserted, with other innovations as well. So even the dates of presumed writing have proved imaginary; e.g. much of Daniel which belongs to a late period. All this has had a disquieting effect, and misunderstood and exaggerated has been occasion of concern, and no less concern because wholly unnecessary. Happily the note struck by Ezra has no uncertain sound; it has persisted through the ages and rings out as clear in these times as the day

it was delivered. As for the purely human agency by which it has come down to us, it stands out on every page and corroborates the account that it itself gives of its own recovery and preservation. But our supreme interest is that exactly as our Christian faith, acknowledged or unacknowledged, has identified itself with our life, so did it become one with their national consciousness. In moral momentum, in the joint result of philosophy and conduct, its measure was and is still high. As regards doctrine pure and simple, there were probably as many schools amongst the Jews, and with as many fetishes and shibboleths as amongst ourselves. But creeds are far from the whole of religion, and for ourselves our great Master has made but one test of fellowship: "By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples if ye love one another." And where there is this love there is need for little further testimony, ordinance, ceremonial, or observance. The power of Christ is the power of love, the law of Christ is the law of freedom. And all beautiful Galatians—WHERE LOVE IS, LAW NO LONGER EXISTS.

28. And here, to some extent summarizing our conclusions, we virtually see in this period, B.C. 444-333, the moulding, so to say, of the race genius of the Jew, whilst during the next four hundred years, B.C. 333 to A.D. 70, we are to follow it in its working out. This time is to be one of varying fortunes, but on the whole also one of progress and increasing consideration, until the crash comes with the destruction of Jerusalem. And contemporaneous with this development we are to find Rome, from a peasant city, become mistress of the world, whilst Greek thought has achieved a similar ascendancy in things intellectual. The only rival to challenge her universal supremacy in this department is the Jew himself, and the special feature of these centuries is the rise and decline of Hellenism and its influence upon his race. From being at first favourably disposed to it, we are to find him become in violent antagonism to everything Greek, racial hate intensifying difference in religious outlook.

This is broadly speaking. No cut and dried principle ever sways a nation as a whole. There is always overlapping of sentiment and unending mixture of motive. Life is the resultant of millions of forces, but in the end in the noble nation that resultant is along the line of noble resolve, whilst in an ignoble nation other considerations preponderate. The resulting action is largely the touch-stone of the class of forces developing it. Thus our war with Germany. Our detractors, especially the yapping curs amongst ourselves, delight to see in our action nothing but selfishness, baseness, and folly. Those who love their country, the best the world has to tell of, may be satisfied her action saved mankind. Thus with the Jews in relation to Hellenism. Their conception of life in its relation to the unseen was impressing itself on the world at large and with increasing power as their prosperity increased. On the other hand, the Greek charm; its metaphysical subtlety, its historical associations never lost its hold on the educated Jew. Mark even the writings of St. Paul. But as a whole, over the centuries, the Jewish outlook on life was the Puritan outlook. And this was what divided them from their fellow man, and more, what divided them amongst themselves. And it is still what divides the world in general to-day. And as with ourselves, it is not in words or creeds or metaphysics that we must seek the difference, but in the fundamentals of life itself. A man is not puritan and therefore serious, but is serious, non-emotional and zealous and therefore puritan. And though we find the puritanism of the Jew in many garbs, yet for all that it has been and is still to be the driving force of many a movement with which its connection is not too obvious. Up till now the temptation has been the worship of strange gods in gross forms and with doubtful ceremonial. The ensuing period is to find the temptation in subtler guise, but in essentials the same. It is now to be wrapped up in the beauties of Greek culture, and reaction against it is to be occasion of offence to neighbours, as well as of fierce quarrellings amongst

themselves. Previous dispute had been as to which hated enemy—Assyrian or Egyptian; Syrian Greek or Egyptian Greek—they should cast in their lot with, but with the Syrian Greek established in power the temptation was to please their master by accepting his religion. As it appealed to many, both intellectually and emotionally as well, in the rising flood of Hellenism the purer Judaistic faith was to be almost entirely swept away. With the “fashionables” it was to be altogether out of date. But for all that it will be Hellenism and not puritanism which runs counter to the race consciousness as a whole. The very loveliness and exquisiteness of the Greek anthropomorphism was ever an offence to the Semitic thought, which found its cradle in Arabia, and which has ever known its God as a spirit alone. And in this instinct, especially as developed in their educated peasant of the Scottish type, is great material. It is in such we find the makings of a fierce race of patriots. These Puritans have always been rare fighters. Men of simple manners and intense earnestness, with no great powers of ratiocination, they will know no temporizing, and with the prophets on their side they will live their faith and not talk it. And the story of their struggle is one of absorbing interest. It is the motif of the two books of the Maccabees. These commence with the time when their fortunes are at their lowest ebb—when the temple knows no more the worship of Jehovah; and they conclude with the rout of their Syrian-Greek tyrants and the triumphant re-establishment of the ancient faith. And anticipating days to come, we are to witness them as they go from strength to strength until they became the proudest of the earth. Until the northern nations of Europe emerge from barbarism to reinvigorate a diseased world it is doubtful if any other race were ever quite their equal. The Persian in his strength had passed away; the people proper of Egypt were never quite their peers; the Greek we are to see become degenerate, whilst the Roman was always at heart a boor. What other people could have

resorted to emetics to increase delight in feasting! At the time of our Lord we are to find the Jews as rich and influential colonists in every city of the empire and forming a great though loose confederation, of which Jerusalem was their holy city and centre. When finally we see them throwing down the gauntlet to Rome itself, we shall find it was no act of mere madness but a very real bid for independence even if not for the supremacy of the world. Consolidated, and at the zenith of their fortunes, they had never been denied. A succession of weak or wicked emperors—Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius—had brought the empire to the verge of ruin, from which it was only saved by the genius of Vespasian. The extent of the danger run was shown by the rejoicing over his triumphs. Vespasian himself, though of no family, was acclaimed emperor, and the arch of Titus—erected by Domitian to celebrate the victories of his father and brother over the Jews—is still one of the glories of the city of Rome. But there had been no arch, no victories, had the Jews been then united amongst themselves. Unhappily, at this great crisis in their history they were to be more seriously divided than ever was the case with them, and in their divisions was to be found the hideous ruin of them all.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER.

¶ 29. AND with the year B.C. 333 once more we see the Jews in the throes of a terrible crisis. The Persian and Greek are in mortal combat and the Greek is to prove triumphant. And they refuse him assistance. They are confident in the power of the "Great King." More, they assist Tyre, leagued with his enemy. Tyre is in need of corn and they supply it, but they have none for him.

And now, with his irresistible army, Alexander was come to balance accounts. The days of terror when Nebuchadnezzar had come on like errand palsy with fear, and they hasten to placate the conqueror. Continuing from the Talmud: "Simon was performing the functions of High Priest during the triumphal career of Alexander. The sons of Judah found no cause to oppose this warrior, and when after his first victories over the Persian army he came to Syria on his way to Egypt, they joined with the kingdoms which paid him homage. Simon the righteous, as representative of the nation, proceeded to the sea coast to greet the conqueror attired in his priestly robes and attended by a number of priests and nobles in the full dignity of their costumes." They were then brought into his presence when, to the surprise of all, Alexander at once approached the High Priest and greeted him with great friendliness; and when his officers expressed their astonishment at this mark of condescension, he told them that in the same form and feature this same priest, clad in the same robes he now wore, had appeared to him in a dream, and promised him success in arms. Thus his reason; but Alexander, with far-seeing policy, respected all religions, spared all temples. In Polybius (Bk. v. 1) we have the account of how, "when incensed against and victorious over Thebes, he ordered all the inhabitants to be sold for slaves and the city to be levelled to the ground, yet he employed the greatest care that no offence should be committed even through accident, against the temples or other consecrated places." And then Alexander was conducted through the temple by Simon. On entering he said, "Blessed be the Lord of this house." He was charmed with the beauty of the structure, and expressed a desire to have a statue of himself erected as a remembrance between the porch and the altar. Simon informed him that it was not allowable to erect any statue or image within the temple walls, but promised that as a remembrance the males born among his people that year should be called Alexander. That

is the manner in which the Rabbis Alexander obtained their names.

Alexander continued well disposed towards the High Priest, and through his intercessions granted the Jews religious freedom and release from all tributary burden during the sabbatic year and the Jews entered Alexander's army and assisted in his conquests." This terrible moment was thus safely got through. Both sides had reason to congratulate themselves on the outcome of the interview. It is well known that the transcendent genius of the great general—e.g. Marlborough—is shown as much in the management of men as in the fighting of his battles. It is easy to be wise after the event and it is a fair index of greatness if it can stand this test. We can now appreciate the wisdom of Alexander. It almost looks the obvious. But it astonished his own staff. Were these Jews to be cowed or conciliated? He could do with no nest of hornets in his rear to cut his retreat in case things did not go too well in Egypt. He chose the bold course, hence this little side-play; and some of these fierce fighters were no doubt a welcome addition to his forces. With them he had no quarrel; probably he respected them for their loyalty to Persia none the less that they now sought terms with himself. And could he rely upon them? Well there always has been a vein of loyalty in this people—we in England have proved it—and he relied on it. As for the Persian he had not been their conqueror but their deliverer, and this from the beginning to the end determined the relations between the two peoples. And they were now ended. The new régime started auspiciously, but, continuing from the Talmud: "This state of affairs lasted, unfortunately, only until the death of Alexander. In the quarrels amongst the generals which followed and continued for two decades, the Jewish people suffered much. The armies of Antigonos and his son Demetrius destroyed the fertile fields, gave wings to blessed peace, and filled the inhabitants of Judea with horror and dismay. It was on

the Sabbath that Jerusalem was taken by storm. The mighty walls—impenetrable strongholds since the days of Nehemiah—were again breached and broken and the city laid open to her enemies. These occurrences Simon lived to see, and his trust in God as well as his love for his people were sorely tried. Yet he did not waver in his faith. He fortified the Temple, repaired its damaged places, and raised the foundations of the five courts. He enlarged the water reservoir in the Temple to provide against a scarcity during siege times and ever after that the Temple was well supplied with water—a matter of note considering the climate and the soil of Jerusalem." Later on, in the days of their triumph, when they had thrown off the Syrian Greek yoke, we are to find continuation of this same work by another Simon. In Ecclesiasticus (chapter 50) we read: "Simon, the High Priest, the son of Onias, who in his life repaired the house again, and in his days fortified the Temple: And by him was built from the foundation the double height, the high fortress of the wall about the Temple: In his days the cistern to receive water, being in compass as the sea was covered with plates of brass: He took care of the Temple that it should not fall and fortified the city against besieging."

Of course the Talmud was written some four hundred or more years after the events it tells of, and it is doubtful if they had as authentic sources of information as ourselves. The spade had not then begun its marvellous work. And even in studying a modern period of history—say of Elizabeth—one ever finds that until one gets down to the original authority itself, an old writer, though centuries nearer the time, is no more an authority than a later student. So the Talmud, dating from a most uncritical age, is probably as unreliable. Still, it gives a traditional picture well in accord with what we might expect. Judea was again to become the cockpit of the East, and war with all its horrors was to overwhelm the country and mould the character of its people. Will they succumb, as

ultimately did the Greek, or rise triumphant over the temptations that are to dog their steps? That is the question time has to answer.

30. Here let us glance at a few of the more important dates relating to this period.

B.C.

- 323. *Death of Alexander, followed by the partition of his empire and the perpetual warfare of his generals.*
- 320. *Ptolemy (I.) Soter storms Jerusalem and takes 100,000 Jews as slaves to Alexandria.*
- 312. *Antigonus wrests country from Egypt.*
- 302. *Ptolemy again successful, regains the land.*
- 300. *Antioch founded as capital of Syrian Greek kingdom.*
- 285-277. *Septuagint translation made in Alexandria by Ptolemy (II.) Philadelphus.*
- 250. *About now Hellenism makes great headway amongst the Jews.*
- 246. *Ptolemy (III.) Euergetes invades Syria, seizes immense booty.*
- 219. *Antiochus the Great, king of the Syrian Greeks, etc., makes war on Egypt, and overruns Palestine and Coele-Syria.*
- 217. *Is defeated by Ptolemy (IV.) Philopater at Raphia.*
- 216. *Ptolemy massacres Jews in Alexandria. (Battle of Cannæ.)*
- 203. *Antiochus renews war with Egypt in Phoenicia and Judea.*
- 200. *Jewish colony founded in China. Rise of the Sadducees.*
- 199. *Ptolemy regains the country.*
- 198. *Antiochus, finally successful, annexes Coele-Syria, etc., and ends the Egyptian-Greek overlordship of the Jews.*

Scanning these dates we see how exactly pre-exile history is to be repeated. Probably some allowance must be made for the likely fact that the Jews had

now outside financial and mercantile interests, previously unknown; but otherwise, as regards Judea itself, there would seem to be little to distinguish the two periods. It is again to be a story of war, conquest, slaughter and slavery, and for things which in no way concerned them. Unfortunately for their world, with the death of Alexander his empire became divided up amongst his generals. Ptolemy, his reputed half-brother, took Egypt, which, with Cyprus and the south coast of Asia Minor, mostly formed one kingdom. To Seleucus fell Syria and the Persian empire generally, so far as it centred round Babylon. The other generals appropriated the rest of the empire, and all of them made themselves kings and established dynasties which lasted until finally ended by the Romans. But meanwhile, by their intolerable jealousies and their interminable wars with one another, they made life altogether wretched wherever their malign influence was felt. And as before, in the quarrels between Ptolemy and Seleucus, sorely against their will, the people of Palestine became implicated. It made no difference to them that it was two Greek generals fighting for supremacy instead of the kings of Egypt and Assyria. Once again they were between the hammer and the anvil, and with reason they dreaded both. As before, the one key to their vacillating politics was anxiety to throw in their lot with the conqueror to be. Unfortunately they now backed the wrong side, fought against Egypt, and were beaten and sorely treated in consequence by Ptolemy. This was B.C. 320, when Ptolemy captured Jerusalem, sacked it, laid waste the adjoining country, and took some 100,000 Jews as slaves into Alexandria. And again this was to have remarkable consequences. Exactly as the Babylonish captivity saved their identity as a race, so this Alexandrian slavery was to give their race a new, definite, and happier turn. Exactly as the Babylonian captivity had proved the one potent factor in the recovery of their ancient sacred books, so this Alexandrian captivity is to have as striking an influence

on the form which they are ultimately to take. It is in Alexandria, rather than in Judea, we shall have to trace these writings. In fact in Judea it was one long fight for simple existence, and the conditions were not those conducive to literary work like the collecting, collating, or editing of their Canon. Some of the new matter, breathing a passionate longing for another David, or Messiah, to deliver them from their intolerable temporal sufferings may be due to them; but it is not improbably that, like the Samaritans, they largely limited their Canon to the law alone. This certainly was the attitude of the Sadducees in the matter a little later. As regards the Jew population in Alexandria, it was mixed with many of the Israelitish tribes. The Samaritans were in force and claiming to be of as pure descent as the children of Judah. As regards others, temporary conditions governed their relations with one another. Between the Jew proper and the Galileans there always seems to have been good feeling. The Galilean had no temple of his own to rouse animosity, and periodically went up to Jerusalem to worship. The dispersion of Israel must not be pressed too far. Probably, like the Jews, they were found as voluntary colonizers in many parts of the world, but the number of captives carried away by Sargon—under thirty thousand—could not have much affected the general character of the inhabitants of the country. Then, exactly as Ptolemy established a colony of Jews in Alexandria, ultimately giving them great privileges, so also did the Syrian Greek, about B.C. 300, establish a similar colony in Antioch, the new capital of their kingdom. Here also we find them prosperous and favoured and loyal to their Greek ruler. Thus about B.C. 320 we visualize the Jewish and Israelitish people with their neighbours both in Palestine and Egypt. About B.C. 314 another of Alexander's generals, Antigonos, king of Phrygia, takes a hand in the game of battledore and shuttlecock, and having some success is a further discordant element, and for the time wrests these unfortunate wretches from Egypt. The Talmud

tells us of the horrors of such existence, and that the many wars and disturbances which agitated these times were productive of much and varied evil, and the extremely pious sought, as in the days of the prophets, to withdraw themselves from the world and to consecrate themselves to God by Nazarean vows. A like cause had no doubt much to do with the popularity of our monastic institutions, anticipating these days with the cult of the conscientious objector.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EGYPTIAN OVERLORDSHIP.

¶ 31. THUS we mark the general turmoil. At last, B.C. 302, the generals come to some sort of arrangement amongst themselves, and in the general partition Palestine and Coele-Syria fall to Egypt. This means that for some eighty years the people are to enjoy comparative quiet. As regards Judea, it meant the payment of a fixed tribute and then their being very much left to their own devices. On the whole this period seems to have been one of prosperity. We had a glimpse of it in the incident related concerning Onias and his withholding the tribute due to Ptolemy Euergetes. So when trouble again overwhelms them we find the Temple has become excessively rich, and on the whole we may assume that the satisfactory conditions known under Persia were revived. During this period we undoubtedly find the orthodox party in the ascendant. The culture and art of the Greek is making its silent way, preparing the soil for the later innovations; but as yet Hellenism is only played with, and forms no serious part of the national life. Turning from Judea we now follow the fortunes of the Jews carried into Alexandrian slavery by Ptolemy, B.C. 320. One great factor differentiates them from those taken into captivity into Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. In his case the Jews had refused him help and

derided his messengers when he had sent for their assistance. This he never forgot and never forgave, and in the day of his success he made them feel his vengeance to the full. Thus in Babylon they were not only slaves—but hated slaves.

On the contrary in Alexandria, there was no reason for any special ill-feeling between them and the Ptolemies. In fact, it is clear that, as Cyrus found in them a bulwark of his empire against the conquered Assyrian, so did Ptolemy similarly hope to attach them to his house. We remember the conditions of Alexandria as a city. It had no homogeneous population of natives, but was made up of citizens gathered from all parts of the empire. Thus a strong party of friendly Jews entirely devoted to him and dependent on his favour was a valuable asset to himself and his dynasty. Egypt, from its geographical configuration, has been a country where one decisive battle has usually settled the fortunes of war at a stroke. And this explains the gratitude of Julius Caesar later on to the Jews of Palestine when they secured him the goodwill of their brethren in Egypt. So it also explains the fury of a later Ptolemy when he found them coquetting with his enemy the Syrian Greek. In many ways at this time they were worth courting. There is little doubt that the intellectual, travelled Jew was one of the polished scholars of his time. We have the account of Aristotle's meeting with one of them. He was a visitor who had modestly come to learn the wisdom of the Greek, but had stayed to impart rather than receive. Aristotle, who was the tutor of Alexander, took him to be one of the Indian philosophers who were called Calarin. Nor need we go further for proof of their high attainments than the book of Ecclesiasticus, written during this period by an Alexandrian Jew. It is the quintessence of worldly wisdom and one of the great books of mankind, however regarded. And could such fail of appealing to men of broad eclectic sympathies like the Ptolemies? All learning was made welcome in their city, as we know

from the reception which they gave to a Buddhist mission from India. It was all part of a settled policy. Then again, many straws in the stream indicate that the Jews were becoming the bankers of the world. Their very colonies, so numerous and wide-spread, secured them the first essential of such business—the reliable correspondent. No doubt these recurrent periods of storm were to engulf them as well as be bad for trade in general, but they were also to leave them the field very much to themselves. They, like the Phoenicians, disaster pursuing them in one city, had another to flee to, and they were generally prepared for flight. Tobit, captive in Nineveh, had his little nest-egg of ten talents of silver in Media. We know their love, even to this day, for precious stones. It is far from born of vanity alone. Great value in small compass ensured them a welcome wherever fortune tossed them. In a tempestuous world portable wealth has always its especial merits.

32. And in pursuance of this settled policy, in his determination to settle this people in Alexandria, we see Ptolemy Philadelphus liberating them and giving them facilities for the translation of their law into the current Greek. It is so in accord with what a wise ruler would do that it lends probability to the current legend handed down by Josephus. We need not accept the details, though having decided on his line he might, like Alexander, when he greeted Simon, determine to make his act as gracious as possible. Through his librarian having expressed his desire to have such translation, he was thus met by Aristeus, their friend and intermediary. "It is not fit for us . . . not only to get the laws of the Jews transcribed but interpreted also for thy satisfaction . . . while so many of the Jews are now slaves in thy kingdom. Do thou . . . agreeable to thy magnanimity free them from the miserable condition they are in, because that God who supporteth thy kingdom was the author of their laws, as I have learned by particular inquiry; for both these people and we also worship the same

God, the framer of all things. We call Him and that truly by the name of Ζηνα (or Life, or Jupiter) because He breathes life into all men. Wherefore do thou restore these men to their own country, and this to do the honour of God, because these men pay a peculiarly excellent worship to Him." * And Ptolemy acceded to this request. And more, out of his own treasury paid two million drachmae to their owners for their release, besides sending immense presents to Jerusalem. No wonder doubt is cast on the story, unless behind it all we also read the two magic words, "*value received*." Policy would go far in suggesting the freeing of the Jews, but when it came to the payment of actual cash—well, a contribution by those most concerned would probably facilitate matters. But it would have been foreign to any Grecian or Eastern mind of those days to have given a simple reason for a simple action. But one fact emerges: for some reason or other the Jew of Alexandria had become worth the consideration of his rulers.

33. In the Bible Handbook† we get the following interesting account of the Septuagint version thus handed down to us. "The version by 'the seventy' was made in Egypt by Alexandrian Jews. The story of Aristeus—a writer who pretended to be a Gentile and favourite at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus—is that the version was made by seventy-two Jews (six from each tribe),‡ sent to Alexandria, B.C. 285, by Eleazar at the request of Demetrius Phalereus, the king's librarian, and that the whole was completed in seventy-two days. To this story various additions were made, claiming miraculous intervention for the work and infallibility for the translators. Dr. Hody conclusively proved that the narrative could not be authentic, though nothing has been discovered that

* Josephus Antiq., xii. 2, 2.

† British Tract Society, p. 30.

‡ Incidentally, this reference by Josephus to the other ten tribes is of interest, confirming the view the "Nineveh Captivity" was not as drastic as sometimes suggested.

materially affects either the value or the date of the version. When it was completed there is no evidence to show. Regarding the work critically it may be observed that it contains many Graeco-Egyptian words, and that the Pentateuch is translated with much more accuracy than the other books. The Book of Job, the Psalms and the Prophets, are all inferior, and especially Isaiah and Daniel. The historical books are often inaccurately translated. In the early Christian Church this version was deemed of great value, though writers often appealed against it to the Hebrew." The Handbook then traces our present version through the various MSS. to the hexapla version of Origen, A.D. 228, itself apparently derived from the version of Aquila of Pontus about A.D. 130. And commenting on the version generally, it continues: "The version is free rather than literal, and frequently misses the sense of the original. It is to a great extent useful in settling the original text, but is more valuable in interpretation, although it often fails in difficult passages from the freeness of its renderings, the carelessness and ignorance of the translators, and the absence of fixed rules of translation. Allowing for these sources of error, it must be added that the LXX. often indicates an underlying text different from the Massoretic. 'At the same time,' writes Dr. Swete, 'between the age of the Septuagint and that of Aquila, a thorough revision of the Hebrew Bible must have taken place, probably under official direction. Again it is sufficient to warn the beginner that in the LXX. he has before him the version of an earlier text which often differed materially from the text of the printed Hebrew Bible and of all existing Hebrew MSS. Again, we are driven to the conclusion that the transition from a fluctuating to a relatively fixed text took place during the interval between the fall of Jerusalem and the completion of Aquila's version.' " *

Though this view discredits the account in Josephus, yet in his story there is much which might well have

* A.D. 70-130.

taken place. We have seen how Ezra gave the law to the Jews at Jerusalem. We have seen how it had to be translated into the current dialect, whence we get some of the books of the Apocrypha. Then may not Ptolemy Philadelphus, in his desire to settle the Jews at Alexandria have deemed it wise to have their law similarly translated into the Greek? That it should differ from the Hebrew as ultimately settled was of course inevitable. The Canon was revised and re-revised again and again, and from a literary point of view probably for the better. On the other hand, the Septuagint was a translation from versions in their unrevised state, in the same way and as the Apocrypha or the Aramaic version, it gives more faithfully the substance of the old or original text than does the more polished rendering of the Hebrew revision. For example, take Esther as found in the Apocrypha, the old version of the story, and compare it with the finished idyll in the canon. Undoubtedly there were great masters who revised these Hebrew writings.

And in tracing the evolution of thought one especially interesting feature comes out in comparing the books of the Apocrypha, mostly the earlier form of the same narrative, with those of the later period. And this is the excision of the unnecessary marvellous. Here we see how the same critical influence which impressed Polybius impressed the Jewish editors as well. Belief in the wonderful was then general; miracles were the order of the day; and marvels were accepted by the learned without question. Nor is this to be wondered at. Hypnotism, then wholly an unknown land, presented phenomena which altogether transcended ordinary human knowledge or experience. But the critical faculty developing, we come to an age which knew some of the greatest intellects of mankind, and so Polybius voices his time as he protests against the way the miraculous is accepted without inquiry. Thus he writes: "There is a report which is firmly credited among the inhabitants of the Barygian cities, that no snow or rain ever falls upon the

statue of the Cidnyan Diana, though it stands in the open air. The people of Issus affirm the same thing also concerning their statue of Vesta; and both these stories are related as facts by some historians. For my own part, I know not how it is, that I am still forced in the course of my work to take some notice of such traditions, which are scarcely to be heard with patience. It is certainly a proof of most childish folly to relate things which, when they are brought to be examined, appear to be not only improbable but even not possible. When a writer affirms that certain bodies, though placed in the light of the sun, project no shade, what is it but plain indication of a dis-tempered brain? And yet Theopompus has declared that this happens to those who are admitted into the temple of Jupiter in Arcadia." And now he gives us an example of the cynicism of his age. "I must confess, indeed," he continues, "that when things of this sort tend only to preserve in vulgar minds a reverential awe of the divinity, writers may be excused if they employ their pains in recounting miracles and in framing legendary tales."

Thus for the shortest of periods we see the world in a critical mood. It is soon to be again agape for the marvellous, and our times are not to be wholly free from the folly. Happily for mankind, the Hebrew Canon came to be edited when this critical faculty was highly developed and when its editors were influenced by the prevailing spirit. The earlier books they left untouched; with them also they had become sanctified by age. And in their case they satisfied their nicety by seeing in them allegory, or story told for edification, and not the narration of actual fact.

And for ourselves, the more we examine the message, the less necessary does it seem to be to appeal to the marvellous for its substantiation. Had the message needed the testimony of the miraculous, would God have left His tremendous verities of existence to depend on some third rate feats of clairvoyance and such like wonders? That the nations made much of

such practices; saw in them their gods manifest; found in them their oracles established, is undoubted; but God's own word carries its own assurance and wants no other vouching whatever. Through human agency the infinite is ever speaking to the finite. Why or wherefore we cannot say. But the speaking is undoubted, and woe that man or nation which will not hear. God's truths are never dependent on writings or foretellings, which only the half educated are given to understand.

34. But these eighty years of peace are to come to an end. The early Ptolemies had been wise and strong rulers. Now came a succession of weak monarchs, and Antiochus the Great thought it a favourable opportunity to add Egypt to his dominions. This involved Palestine as usual in the ensuing war, when, as Josephus pathetically remarks, "it fell out that these nations were equally sufferers both when he was beaten and when he beat the others." As always, we observe their most justifiable anxiety to stand well with the winner. Why should they do anything but hate and loathe both Syrian Greek and Egyptian Greek alike? Probably they viewed with dismay the increasing feebleness of Egypt, the rising power and ambitions of Antiochus. It was a terribly anxious moment. The fact was their land was all-important to both combatants, so much so that Antiochus, as Polybius tells us, having obtained possession of Sythopolis, i.e. Bethshan and the country about it, regarded himself as well on the road to victory, and "was filled with the fairest hopes as to the final issue of the war. For the country was such as could afford very large supplies, sufficient for all the army, and furnish them with every kind of necessities in the greatest plenty." It is accidental touches like these which give us justest view of what these much-abused people really were. A country does not teem with plenty unless its inhabitants are frugal and hardworking. And they tried to accommodate themselves to the ruffianly freebooters who were only united in indiscriminately

robbing them. And they accept Antiochus, as he is on the full tide of fortune. And then most surprising change. Ptolemy, utterly profligate, did nothing to stem the invasion. But his ministers thought it shame to thus ignominiously collapse without an effort, and collected an army. And the foes met at Raphia, where Ptolemy momentarily proved a veritable hero and Antiochus was defeated. And now it was a terrible moment for those who have supported him, given him a welcome. Concerning this, Polybius sneeringly writes: * "Such was the end of the battle of Raphia. . . . When Antiochus had discharged the last duties to his soldiers who had fallen in the action, he directed his route back again to his own kingdom. At the same time Ptolemy took possession of Raphia without resistance, with the rest also of the neighbouring cities, which all seemed to strive together which should be the first to return again to his dominion, and receive him as their master. For in such conjuncture, all men are indeed ready to accommodate their resolutions to present times. But the people, especially of Coele-Syria, are more strongly led by nature to this compliance than those of any other country. At this time, however, their conduct must in part be ascribed to that affection by which they were before inclined towards the kings of Egypt. For the multitude through all the province had always been accustomed to regard the princes of this family with sentiments of high respect and veneration. Ptolemy therefore was received among them with crowns, sacrifices, altars, and every other honour which flattery was able to invent."

But in the case of the Jews, both in Jerusalem and Alexandria, it would seem without too great success. The former he treated with severity, but the latter it is said he massacred to the extent of forty to sixty thousand. Why such ferocity is difficult to say. Had they made themselves obnoxious to other jealous colonists, who took this opportunity to rob and murder

* Polybius, Book V., ch. 8.

them, or, erroneously anticipating the success of Antiochus, had they been altogether treacherous to him their king?

For some twelve years there was peace, and then once more Antiochus renewed the struggle for supremacy. Again his fortune varied with terrible results to these buffer states; but at last, B.C. 198, finally successful, he ended for good and all the overlordship of the Egyptian Greek.

For himself, he courts his new subjects, and in return is courted by them. Hellenism becomes especially popular, and is in full flood. No doubt it was as much politic as due to conviction, and was born of an intense eagerness to stand well with a new master. For the time it was not antagonistic to their worship in its outward forms. To this Antiochus was favourable, as well as his son Seleucus, who further took upon himself the charges for the daily sacrifice in the Temple. But its popularity grew apace, and when, some twenty-five years later, Seleucus dies and is succeeded by his brother Antiochus Epiphanes, who supplanted his son Demetrius, we are to find it high in favour with the rising generation, and almost established as the universal belief.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE RISE OF HELLENISM.

¶ 35. A FEW material dates will best help us to understand the period that is to follow. As far as home politics are concerned, it is to witness the rise and triumph of Hellenism, which, as we have already observed, was beginning to make headway about B.C. 250.

B.C.

198. *Antiochus the Great becomes overlord of Judea, Palestine, etc. Onias III. High Priest at Jerusalem.*

187. *Seleucus succeeds his father Antiochus the*

Great. Subsidizes temple worship; but Hellenism in full flood.

175. *Death of Seleucus. His brother Antiochus Epiphanes succeeds him. Onias supplanted by his brother Joshua, who takes the name of Jason. End of Temple service.*

172. *Jason is supplanted by Menelaus, who also murders Onias.*

170. *Jason, hearing rumours of the death of Antiochus, again seizes the High Priesthood. Antiochus sees in this a general revolt; takes Jerusalem; razes its walls; massacres 40,000 of its people, and sells as many more as slaves.*

168. *His general, Apollonius stamps out Judaism and builds a citadel to overawe the city, and Hellenism is practically established.*

36. And now, once again, as ever, we are to find the people seeking strange gods. With Aaron we see them dancing naked before the golden calf; with their kings we see them prostrate before Baal; and yet again, weeping for Tammuz, it is a Syrian cult they have made their own. And now, in all its alluring seductiveness, it is Hellenism that is to subvert them as a nation. It is but a small band of grim purists which is to keep burning the lamp of their ancient faith. But it is anchored firm in their priceless books. And wild faction—fierce civil war—is to divide them as never in the past. In their recent troubles we have clue to their mutual rancour. As in similar stress, the one all-dividing question has been with which side to throw in their lot? And there has been the Egyptian party and the Syrian party, nor has either wanted occasion to reproach the other. And we see the Syrian Greeks standing for Hellenism in its fullest expression, and their party is altogether in the ascendant. And their opponents—a hopeless, helpless minority—are alone supported by their unshakable belief. Much is made of the monotheism of the Jews as

differentiating them from their neighbours. As a matter of bald fact it is doubtful if ever this were the case. In Josephus we see a claim for Ptolemy's clemency is based on both Jew and Greek alike worshipping the same ZEUS, the same breather of life into man. We have seen how Aristotle took his Jew visitor for an Indian philosopher, and the Indians were notoriously pantheistic in their belief that God is everything and everything is God. No, it was not their monotheistic belief that distinguished them, but the insistence of their holy books that the God they worshipped above all was a God of righteousness. Maybe, in these fearful days, this little band themselves had no idea of the great world-principle for which they were fighting; they probably little realized that in their success was bound up one of the great world movements of all time. Little did this diminishing band of enthusiasts realize that, ultimately triumphant, ultimately speaking for the race itself, they were to champion the highest revelation yet given to mankind. With all its exquisite beauty, with all its amazing thought, the Greek is still to be protagonist of a lower level of ethical development. And we trace it in the story of the two peoples themselves. With the loss of liberty the Greek became one of the most servile and contemptible of men. His wisdom became professorial and disputatious; Sophist, Rhetorician, and Philosopher alike reduced every subject to controversy, where words became all in all. No longer capable of great actions, he sought satisfaction in the magnificence of his sentiments—but sentiments which found no correspondence in the life he led. And this, to individual or nation alike, is fatal. On the other hand, the Jew—true we rarely see him as an amiable character—put his faith before his life itself. When a whole city was prepared to die rather than admit a statue to profane its temple, we are at the climax of human grandeur. Thus he steadily progressed and grew into a nobler man, and when as a

nation he is to finally expire, it is to be in a blaze of glory. As said, he does not command our ready sympathy. Above all, we see him fanatical, intolerant, and rancorous, delighting in differences and in their exaggeration. It is the old story of the Assyrian over again. The genial warmth of the Persian won his regard, but hate of Assyrian and Greek alike led him to seek every possible occasion of disagreement with both. An innate aversion to anthropomorphism was the feature of the Semitic race generally, but with the Jew in his antagonism to the Greek it bordered on fanaticism itself. Analyze the underlying belief, and there really was little to quarrel with in the anthropomorphism of the Greek. In the heyday of his greatness it was his delight to imagine his gods as he thought they might have been if by any chance they should really have taken human form. And so visualized, he delighted in giving them that perfection of grace and beauty that has made his art immortal. But to this fierce school Hellenism was to prove not only the enemy of their faith but the enemy of every national aspiration as well. Thus their exaggeration of every possible difference. Thus most holy their circumcision which effectually divided them from the shame of the palaestra or gymnasium of the Greek. Thus their meticulous observance of the law, their loathing of certain meats, swine's flesh in particular, and their intensified regard for the sabbath. In these they see, probably rightly, essentials of race preservation. These are all extremes, but not so much to please their God as to mark their loathing of a rival race. Through the ages it has been more than enough to account for one philosophy or doctrine that another hated school has held views exactly the opposite. Men at variance never are in want of a reason for showing their detestation of one another. Thus the Greek schools of philosophy, thus the divisions so numerous in church history. But had this alone distinguished the Jew of those days it is doubtful if they had been even heard of in centuries to come. But view

his notions as we please, the man himself was sound, and his life carried his faith. It was his faith materializing into acts—acts of devotion, acts of self-denial, acts of unparalleled heroism—that has made him worthy of a world's consideration. Principle and practice are twin. Principle without practice is the fig-tree that Christ cursed; practice without principle is a ship without a rudder.

37. As we have observed, for the story of this period, embracing the rise, success, and fall of Hellenism, we must go to the two books of the Maccabees. The first book begins with a masterly epitome of the events leading up to the noble stand made by Mattathias for the faith of his fathers, with which incident the history virtually commences; and it is continued until the death of Simon, his last son, and the final triumph of his party over Hellenism. The second book tells in more detail the earlier incidents, beginning in particular with the defection to Hellenism of Jason, brother of the High Priest Onias III., whom he supplants, and concludes with the triumph of Judas Maccabeas, his taking of Jerusalem, and his purification of the Temple. Thus in the first chapter of 1 Maccabees we read: "And it happened after that Alexander, son of Philip the Macedonian, who came out of the land of Chettim, had smitten Darius, king of the Persians and Medes, that he reigned in his stead, the first over Greece. And made many wars and won many strongholds, and slew the kings of the earth. And went through to the ends of the earth, and took spoils of many nations, inasmuch that the earth was quiet before him, whereupon he was exalted, and his heart was lifted up.

(4) "And he gathered a mighty strong host, and ruled over countries and nations and kings, who became tributaries unto him.

(5) "And after these things he fell sick, and perceived that he should die." Wherefore he called his servants, such as were honourable, and had been

brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them while he was yet alive.

(7) "So Alexander reigned twelve years and then died. And his servants bare rule every one in his place. And after his death they all put crowns upon themselves, so did their sons after them many years, and evils were multiplied in the earth.

(10) "And there came out of them a wicked root, Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king who had been an hostage at Rome, and he reigned in the hundred and thirty and seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

(11) "And in those days went there out of Israel wicked men who persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the heathen that are round about us; for since we departed from them we have had much sorrow. So this device pleased them well. Then certain of the people were so forward herein, that they went to the king, who gave them licence to do after the ordinances of the heathen. Whereupon they built a place of exercise at Jerusalem according to the customs of the heathen, and made themselves uncircumcised and forsook the covenant and joined themselves to the heathen and were sold to do mischief."

From 2 Maccabees we fill in with more particularity: "Now when the Holy City was inhabited with all peace, and the laws were very well kept because of the godliness of Onias the High Priest and his hatred of wickedness, it came to pass that even the kings themselves did honour the place and magnify the Temple with their best gifts, Insomuch that Seleucus, king of Asia, of his own revenues bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices. But one Simon, of the tribe of Benjamin, who was made governor of the Temple, fell out with the High Priest about disorder in the city; And when he could not overcome Onias, he gat him to Apollonius, the son of Thraseas, who then was governor of Coelosyria and Phenice, and told him that the treasury in Jerusalem

was full of infinite sums of money, so that the multitude of their riches which did not pertain to the account of the sacrifices was innumerable, and that it was possible to bring all into the king's hand."

In this probably he did not exaggerate. Probably, in addition to receiving deposits as a bank, then as later, it was the custom for every Jew, wherever domiciled, to send an annual contribution to the Temple, so that it became fabulously wealthy. For the moment the poisonous suggestion did not work, but it was to have evil results a little later. But these machinations of Simon were followed by the more deadly defection of Joshua, the brother of Onias, who took the name of Jason and tried to supplant him in his office. As soon as Antiochus Epiphanes took the throne, to the exclusion of the rightful heir, his nephew Demetrius, Jason immediately sought him, and by the promise of higher tribute secured the much-coveted high priesthood. He was leader of the extreme Hellenists, and with his accession the customs of the Greeks became established even to the giving up of the daily sacrifices in the Temple. Then Jason had occasion to send an embassy to the king, and he chose Menelaus, the brother of Simon, as his deputy. He so well used his opportunity and so ingratiated himself with the king—in particular by the promise of still more tribute—that he got himself appointed High Priest instead of Jason. In power, and one of his first acts was to procure the murder of Onias. After a short while there were rumours of the death of Antiochus in Egypt; these coming to the ears of Jason, he raised a small army and deposed Menelaus and once more tried to become High Priest. But news of his rising reaching the king, he, greedy of treasure, chose to see in it a general revolt of the people. Thus in 2 Maccabees v. we read:

(11) "Whereupon, removing out of Egypt in a furious mind, he took the city by force of arms, and commanded his men of war not to spare such as they met and to slay such as went upon the houses. Thus

there was killing of young and old, making away of men, women, and children, slaying of virgins and infants. And there were destroyed within the space of three whole days four score thousand whereof forty thousand were slain in the conflict, and no fewer sold than slain."

Or as we also read in 1 Maccabees, ch. i.: "After that Antiochus had smitten Egypt he returned again in the hundred and forty and third year and went up against Israel and Jerusalem with a great multitude. And entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar and the candlestick of light and all the vessels thereof. And the table of the shewbread, and the pouring vessels, and the vials, and the censers of gold, and the veil and the crowns and the golden ornaments that were before the Temple, all of which he pulled off. He took also the silver and the gold and the precious vessels. Also he took the hidden treasures which he found. And when he had taken all away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre and spoken very proudly. Therefore there was great mourning in Israel, in every place where they were . . . the land also was moved for the inhabitants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was covered with confusion." No doubt it was a horrible episode. And it was followed by two years of appalling tyranny. To overawe the people he built a tower or citadel, frowning over the city, which he filled with his own soldiers and people. Its capture was to be almost the last act in the struggle for freedom which we have to relate. Then, further, he was determined to stamp out Judaism, and his minister Apollonius carried out his orders with no pretence of mercy.

(i. 60). "At which time, according to the commandment, they put to death certain women that had caused their children to be circumcised, and they hanged the infants about their necks, and rifled their houses, and slew them that had circumcised them." And thus this pitiless rule continued (iii. 45): "Now Jerusalem

lay void as a wilderness, there was none of her children that went in and out, the sanctuary also was trodden down, and aliens kept the stronghold. The heathen had their habitation in that place; and joy was taken from Jacob, and the pipe with the harp ceased." Thus persecution, pitiless and resolute, did its work, and as far as Jerusalem was concerned the faith of the Jew was dead. Jehovah was no more the God of the Temple. It was Jupiter Capitolinus who was now worshipped, and to him the king set up an altar on which he sacrificed the flesh of swine. Thus the abomination of desolation and the pollution was complete. But—deepest depth in that pollution—the leaders and the people took no unwilling part.

CHAPTER XV.

THE DECLINE OF HELLENISM.

¶ 38. AND now no more "In Judah is God known," no more His name is great in Israel. But what God intends is, and what is God INTENDS. And no part of His purpose that His revelation should thus end; its preservation is one of the miracles of man's story. What if the higher criticism be undoubted? what if prophecies were invariably written after the event? what if the same human agency be found in these writings as in all writings? What all these facts, probably undoubted, when the message itself rings out its clarion note, and when nothing had now saved it but God's most undoubted will? By this miracle all other miracles are trifling and commonplace, miracles unworthy of a God of infinite power and majesty. Through the length and breadth of the land His revelation of Himself to the Jew is stamped out. Apollonius had done his part only too well, and he has nothing left but to congratulate himself on the thoroughness of his work. In Jerusalem is worship of his Jupiter Olympius, in Gerizim of his Jupiter "Defender of Strangers"—no less a god would they put in the

Temple of Jehovah, whether in Sion or Samaria—and for once, in a common degradation and adversity, we are to find the animosities of the past almost forgotten by these irreconcilable kinsmen.

Here again let us anticipate our story by giving a few of the material dates of the ensuing period.

B.C.

167. *Hellenism practically established in Judea; Mattathias at Modin alone refuses to conform; slays a recreant, and with his five sons flees to the mountains. His third son, Judas Maccabeus, proves a great master of guerilla warfare.*
165. *Lysias, sent with a large army to put down rising, is defeated by Judas, who takes Jerusalem, purifies the Temple, and takes vengeance on the neighbouring tribes who had joined against him.*
164. *Death of Antiochus Epiphanes. He is succeeded by Antiochus Eupator, his son, only nine. Lysias has charge of him, and renews war against Judas and presses him closely.*
163. *Hearing that Philip, an officer of Antiochus, claims regency, and is establishing himself in Antioch, makes hasty peace with Judas and appoints him governor. He defeats Philip.*
162. *Demetrius, son of Seleucus, escapes from Rome, raises an army, and captures both Lysias and the young king, and slays them both. The Hellenists of Judea make overtures to him, and war is renewed against Judas.*
161. *Judas successful, makes an alliance with Rome which is to be the basis of her future relations with the Jews. Judas killed at battle of Eleasa. His brother Jonathan succeeds him.*
153. *The Romans support a puppet king, Alexander, son, or pretended son, of Antiochus*

—against Demetrius. They both bid for Jonathan's support. He throws in lot with Alexander, and his help decides the issue.

146. (Rome destroys Carthage.)

145. Alexander murdered, Demetrius II. becomes king. He courts Jonathan. Tryphon, an adventurer sets up a son of Alexander as a rival king. He also seeks friendship of Jonathan, who is beginning to subdue the old inheritance of Judah and Israel. With his success Hellenism decidedly on the wane.

144. Renews alliance with Rome. Demetrius turns against him and is defeated. Tryphon, still professing friendship, treacherously captures and murders him.

143. Simon, the last brother, succeeds to his power, and establishes complete independence. The office of High Priest is made hereditary in his family. Writings are now dated in the year of Simon, and Hellenism is finally ended.

39. And we are now at a period when nothing is to stay Hellenism in the full flood of its triumph. It is irresistible: it is all-conquering. In thought and mind it is alike invincible. But stay!—a trifle demands the attention of the king. In the little village of Modin, no great distance from Jerusalem, is one Mattathias, whom it would be as well for him to have seen. He is not quite of the right way of thinking, and as he is of some little importance others may be inclined to follow his lead. The royal officers interview him. They are far from overbearing. In most friendly talk they would have him join the king's party, be one of the king's friends, and they accompany their proposal with proffer of great gifts. He really is somewhat unreasonable. These differences are so undesirable, and he alone blocks the way to a general unification.

And the fate of a great world issue is in his decision.

There are supreme moments when words cease to have a meaning or reason its power. The life that is past—the man in himself—the man as he is—alone determine the issue. Such our glorious first million volunteers, who saved themselves and saved the world. Hardly one could give an intelligible reason for his devotion. The fine sentiments and grand talk were in the mouths of those turning about for reasons to shirk their duty. The determination to skulk was first, the justification was sought afterwards. But of none such Mattathias. Now at any rate is no moment to be faithless to his past and faithless to his God. All unwitting of the tremendous issue at stake, he is protagonist of a great movement which is to challenge and in the end to triumph over the mighty forces in such proud array against it.

And now an incident brings matters to a rapid crisis. One of his people would sacrifice in that land to a strange god, "and which thing, when Mattathias saw, he was inflamed with zeal, and his reins trembled, neither could he forbear to show his anger according to judgment: wherefore he ran, and slew him upon the altar. Also the king's commissioner who compelled men to sacrifice he killed at that time, and the altar he pulled down."*

Henceforth accommodation is out of the question, "so he and his sons fled into the mountains, and left all that ever they had in the city." And from now on hunted and proscribed, their only hope is in their own prowess and vigilance. And they made a younger son, Judas, a veritable giant and of tremendous personal prowess, their captain. As a master of guerilla warfare he was to prove unmatched. His exploits are one long romance. Little by little he improved his position. Soon he gathered under him a small band of elect spirits like himself, and they made terrible soldiers. Until this war we find their counterpart only in our Cromwell's Ironsides or Havelock's Saints. Probably they were even fiercer, for with

* 1 Maccabees ii. 24.

them victory was the only alternative to death, and death in torment.

At first he and his band were underestimated, and failures to capture him added to his reputation and the number of his followers. His exploits so increased that noise of them reached Antiochus, and he determined to smoke out these wasps and destroy them utterly. Nor did he now under-rate them. He gave to his deputy, Lysias, half of his forces, with instructions to make an end of the matter. Lysias at once commenced the campaign, and sent Georgias and two other generals, with an army of forty thousand footmen and seven thousand horsemen to immediately attack them. And so certain seemed success that "the merchants of the country, hearing the fame of them, took silver and gold very much, with servants, and came into the camp to buy the children of Israel for slaves; a power also of Syria and of the land of the Philistines joined themselves unto them." * Then, detaching 5,000 men, Gorgias thought to entrap Judas; but, out-manceuvred, his force was cut to pieces. And Judas, pressing his advantage, then attacked the main army and utterly defeated it as well. Following up his victory he then made himself master of Jerusalem, and though the tower defied his efforts, yet the city itself was so strong that it meant his faction had now become a definite power in the land, and that it would be no easy task for even a large army to retake it.

And above all, the Temple, the climax of their sorrow and rejoicing, was once more theirs. Loud were the lamentations over its pollution; as exuberant the delight that once more it was in the hands of the faithful. Eight days were given to the festival of its purification, a festival celebrated to this day. It is a glorious page in the history of any nation, but far from the final one, as nobody knows better than does Judas. The enemy is far too powerful for the war thus to end, and meantime the neighbouring nations are also in conspiracy to destroy them. Against these Judas

* 1 Maccabees iii. 41.

wages war with matchless energy and, alas, with unspeakable ferocity. A city captured, all the males he slew with the edge of the sword; the walls he razed; the spoils he took, and he passed through on his way over them that were slain. But war was very horrible in those days. We would have seen him more merciful, but when had he or his known mercy? Cruelty begets cruelty; reprisal, reprisal; in devrily each goes one better; and ferocity never knows limit. Even our wars of the Roses are in point. What more relentless than the growing lust for blood as victors destroyed vanquished till scarce a noble family was left. And cruelty is to mark the coming pages of their history and ever to their bane. I do not know that they are a cruel race, but they had terribly suffered. Under the considerate Persian we see them a contented, genial, and cheerful people. I do not even know that they are an ungrateful race. Their history is that of fidelity to those fair and faithful to them. We have ever found them our true countrymen, and they have ever been loyal to an empire of which they are proud to be part. But at bay, hunted, proscribed—well, they are like that wicked little animal which bites when it is attacked.

40. News of these reverses reaching Antiochus seem to have so enraged him as to have materially accelerated his death. But this caused no change of policy on the part of Lysias. Having made his young son king by the name of Antiochus Eupator, he again set out against Judas with a yet greater army than before, and with, in addition, two and twenty elephants. And the people of the land also conspired with him to destroy them utterly. And Judas, no man to wait to be attacked, went out to meet him, and making a midnight sally, entered the very camp of the enemy and slew about four thousand men and the chiefest of the elephants. He had proved what a terrible antagonist he could be, but for all that he could not stay the invading army. Soon he was shut up in the city, where famine and divided counsels, more

deadly, threatened the dreaded end. The Hellenists—and they were many—hating him more intensely than the enemy, hastened to make their peace with the invaders. But for him there was but one conclusion—death, and he knew it, but it should be sword in hand.

And salvation? Whence cometh salvation? hemmed in with that wall of steel and terror? "Salvation cometh from the Lord."

And . . . Lysias receives disquieting news from Antioch. Philip, another general of Antiochus, and who was with him at his death, has declared that dying, the king had given him the kingdom to govern for his young son. And he is prepared to establish his right by arms, and the local army is with him. Obviously, this is no time to have another war on his hands, and Lysias hastens to come to terms with Judas. He waives all conditions. He will make him governor, and he and his people shall live after their own customs. He has now more important business on hand than stamping out a local rising, however serious. Was ever change so amazing and sudden? A veritable gallows reprieve. It was a great triumph for Judas. Well might he proudly look back to the day when, hardly five years before, proscribed and hunted like vermin, he had fled to the mountains; and now he dictates peace to the oppressors of his people. The policy of Antiochus Epiphanes is repudiated, his wickedness acknowledged, and in their own temple, honoured of all men, they are to worship their God as in the days of old. Yes, a magnificent triumph, and in it they see the hand of their God acting through His chosen servant Judas.

"Thus the land of Juda was in rest a little while."* And Judas, having heard of the Romans, that they also were valiant men, and had also waged war successfully against the Greeks in Galatia, as well as having been successful over Antiochus the Great in previous days, decided to send ambassadors to them

* 1 Maccabees vii. 50.

to make a league of amity and confederacy with them. And the matter pleased the Romans well,* and they made a covenant with them, and they would fight with them by sea and by land. And greatly to their credit the Romans substantially honoured this agreement until the end, and regarded it as the practical basis of their relations in days to come. In the heyday of his magnificence the Roman is never to forget that in those days of his humbler past a little nation of the East had sent their ambassadors to Rome—which was a very great journey—to ask his friendship and alliance. And they had struck hands. In the irresistible movement of events the Jews were to become part of the Roman Empire, but it never was as a conquered people that their allegiance was demanded. In their numerous quarrels amongst themselves they ventured the dangerous expedient of calling in the Roman to arbitrate on the rival claims of their own rulers, and from arbitrator to master was most natural of transition in such tempestuous times.

41. For some three years Judas is to have comparative quiet. Lysias was successful over Philip, and established himself in power, when he was challenged by a new and more dangerous competitor. This was Demetrius, son of Seleucus, whom Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus, had robbed of his throne. Demetrius, taking advantage of the unsettled conditions, escaped from Rome, raised a small mercenary army, came to Syria, and with the greatest good fortune, managed to capture Lysias and the young king, Eupator, both of whom without any compunction he at once slew. Thus he entered into the kingdom of his fathers, but to find it much weakened by the past dissensions, and his position was far from secure. Taking advantage of his embarrassments, the king of Parthia—quite an unimportant kingdom—succeeded in wresting from him Mesopotamia, Babylon, and Assyria. And now there is not a doubt that had the Semitic peoples been united amongst themselves they

* 1 Maccabees viii. 21.

might have defied Demetrius and established themselves as the great power of the East.

And here we see the difference between Judas and David. Both were magnificent warriors, but in addition David was as great a diplomatist. He founded and Solomon established a kingdom which, in coalition with Tyre, was the rival of Egypt, of the Hittites, and of the Assyrians themselves. B.C. 1000 we see Judea one of the world-powers of the times. What broke up that confederacy was internal dissension. What prevented all hope of its rebirth was the same internal dissension, at this time aggravated by centuries of mutual injuries and the bitterest animosities. United, the children of Israel in the East might well have played the part of the Romans in the West. The Romans, once they made common cause with the Latin race as a whole, went from victory to victory. The Jews, making common cause with their Semitic neighbours, had for a time under David been triumphant, and might have been equally triumphant again. Really the dream of the Jew of absolute dominion was no midsummer madness, as it sometimes appears to us. What alone was wanting was union amongst themselves. Their varying fortunes might have been intended as an allegory or lesson of freewill, so completely did the future seem within their own volition. And in the supreme moment of their history they failed to be true to themselves. Not only did they utterly fail to conciliate rival neighbours and tribes, but dissension bitterer than ever divided them within. In Judas they had an asset as a general that counterbalanced the combination against them, and loyal to him they might have easily beaten off any attempts that Demetrius made against them. Instead, the Hellenists, led by one Alcimus, who had been High Priest, in their hate of Judas, sought Demetrius and begged him to help them in driving out this oppressor. Naturally Demetrius was only too delighted to comply. This accession of interest helped him to consolidate his crumbling kingdom. Judas, the terror of the land,

was as hated as dreaded. Against him a crusade was always popular, and Demetrius soon had under his command a large army with which to destroy this one serious menace to his power. In his first attempt he failed, and Judas, as ever, was triumphant. But this he follows up with a second attempt, and this time, fighting against terrific odds, Judas is killed. His end is worthy of his fame, and he dies only when overwhelmed by foes. His work is not entirely undone; his mantle is to fall on the shoulders of his brother Jonathan, but for awhile the disaster is irreparable, and the "cause" is to again sink into the lowest depths. But a great figure has trod the stage, and in Judas we have a national hero worthy of any race. And he is to be their idol. In later troubles it is of another such Judas that they fondly dream. And many a wild enthusiast is to emulate his deeds and involve all in a common destruction. A halo of romance is around him, which is to crystallize into the chief tenet of their faith. In his brief past is the base of all their hopes in years to come. In him, true successor of David and of Cyrus, is prototype of the Messiah who is yet again to arise and save them. And the deeper their misfortunes the profounder their belief and expectations. It was so little that had stood between him and the sweeping triumph of their people. Passionately they would recall those days, re-live those hours of lost opportunities. But it was not to be.

42. Again in local politics we find the key to the sudden change which takes place in their fortunes. Like Judas, Jonathan finds himself on the verge of destruction. He is on the very edge of the precipice—one little push and all is over. And then, like Lysias, Demetrius has to meet a rival to his throne. Behind the scenes, pulling the strings, is the hand of Rome. A puppet king, a son or pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes, Alexander by name, claims the kingdom, and Rome approves his claim. And Jonathan and his fierce following immediately become all-important

to both claimants. Probably we see in these Jews of the hills the finest soldiers of the time. The country round about Jerusalem was ever cradle of a perennial supply of magnificent peasant fighters and educated peasants. We are reaching times when their religion is to take much the form in which we see it in the days of our Lord, and it is highly likely that it is amongst these "elect" few that we must seek the germs of what it soon became. It needs little imagination to fill in the scene as, persecuted and proscribed, amongst their hills and fastnesses they engage in their religious exercises. And they learn to love them. It is not so much in their temple with its sacrifices and ceremonial as in their local synagogues-to-be, probably direct successors of these assemblings, that we are to find the religion which really swayed their lives. And it is the reading and exposition of the law with its immediate application to the affairs of everyday life which is their delight. It is one sustained appeal to the reason as distinct from the emotions, and is intensely practical. And they took their religion with them into their everyday life. And as soldiers they had to be reckoned with. And so Cromwell. How cope with the overwhelming courage and enthusiasm of the proud cavalier? This was his problem. Ordinary material was as chaff before them. And he sought and found success in a fierce piety that delighted in this same law.

And now to Demetrius and Alexander alike Jonathan has become all important. In the scramble for power the Hellenist party are not all valuable. They can be depended upon to shout with the winner, but hard blows are now wanted.

And we see the depth of extremity to which Demetrius had sunk by the way he courts Jonathan. He could not promise too much. He sent him letters restoring to him all the privileges and powers that Judas had secured, with powers to levy troops and rebuild the city walls. And Alexander, no whit behind, wrote even more effusively. "We have heard

of thee that thou art a man of great power and meet to be our friend. Wherefore now this day we ordain thee to be the High Priest of thy nation, and to be called the king's friend; (and therewithal he sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold) and require thee to take our part and keep friendship with us."* To this Demetrius rejoined by entirely freeing them from all allegiance whatever. So he promised to restore all the slaves taken captive during the recent wars, and offered to enrol thirty thousand Jews amongst the king's forces. There was no end to his gifts. The country of Samaria was to be joined to their government, and he gave Ptolemais in addition to bear the expenses of the sanctuary at Jerusalem. Also they were to have fifteen thousand shekels of silver out of the king's accounts. So Jerusalem was to be a sanctuary to protect all who fled there from any part of his dominions; and he agreed to pay the expenses for rebuilding the walls of the city. Yes, all important this clan of fierce soldiers had become to him as well as to his rival Alexander. And as said: If only Judas had been alive and they had been a united people! With him, another David or Sargon or Alexander, what the limit of their conquests and dominions? Their dream of dominion was no wild dream of a hashish-eater or dram-drinker, but was rooted in a very solid substratum of actual fact. However, the result was to prove their importance. Jonathan threw in his lot with Alexander, and Demetrius was vanquished and soon after killed. And Alexander honoured him yet more "and sent him a buckle of gold as the use is to be given to such as are of the king's blood."

We can realize the dismay these events struck into the hearts of the Hellenist party in Jerusalem. Their faction still held the tower that Antiochus had built and which frowned over the city, but they now hasten to make terms with Jonathan and to seek his goodwill.

Their fortunes are at a low level. Those—and they

* 1 Maccabees x. 20.

were many—alone anxious to be with the master force—were preparing to tack about and go over to the other side; and one further triumph, and Hellenism is to divide the counsels of the people no more.

43. And this success is to come, not in the time of Jonathan, but of his brother Simon. Alexander being murdered soon after, Demetrius II revived his father's claim. Then an adventurer, one Tryphon, also ran a puppet king, a son or once more a pretended son of Alexander. Varying fortunes attended the two enemies, and Jonathan was friendly, and at variance, and friendly yet again with both. Then Tryphon invited him to a conference, treacherously captured and slew him, and then with a great force came up to subdue the land of Judea. But Simon, the last son of Mattathias the father of so many heroes, rose in his place, and though at first faced with annihilation, just managed to beat off his attempt. Tryphon, foiled in his surprise attack, had other enemies to reckon with, and Simon became established in the kingdom. He followed up this success by finally capturing the tower which had so long been the stronghold of their bitterest enemies. With its fall Hellenism as a threatening rival faction was at an end. And Simon consolidated his power and the dignity of High Priest—virtually that of king—was made hereditary in his family. From now on the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts: In the first year of Simon the High Priest, the governor and leader of the Jews."

We thus enter on a new phase of Jewish history. They are once more a free and independent people, soon to be the dominant power in those parts; and we see them ruled by their own princes, and courted and making alliances on terms of equal status with other people. From Rome they receive letters of warmest congratulation on their success as well as from the Lacedemonians, who curiously see in the Jews their brethren as they also are of the stock of Abraham.*

* 1 Maccabees xii. 21.

And religious differences are also at an end. At last they are one in faith and that faith is in essentials much as it has been these past two thousand years or more. All things are now possible to them. The independence which has faded from them like a shadow—amazing fact—is theirs, and none to say them nay. And in this they saw the hand of God who humbled the proud, but who the meek and lowly saved and raised up.

Their next hundred years was to be the story of how once more they threw away their inheritance.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MACCABEAN TYRANNY.

¶ 44. HERE let us give a synopsis of the principal events until the birth of our Lord and the end of even the nominal independence of the Jews.

B.C.

- 161. *Death of Judas Maccabeas. Succeeded by his brother Jonathan.*
- 143. *Simon, another brother, succeeds. Ecclesiasticus written about this time.*
- 135. *Is murdered. His son Hyrcanus succeeds him.*
- 130. *Hyrcanus destroys Samaria with great ferocity.*
- 107. *Aristobulus his son succeeds and makes himself king.*
- 106. *Alexander Jannaeus, his brother, succeeds him.*
- 86. *Fierce civil war. Crucifies 800 Pharisees.*
- 79. *His wife, Alexandra, succeeds to power, whilst his son Hyrcanus becomes High Priest.*
- 70. *Aristobulus, the younger brother, supplants Hyrcanus. Civil war renewed.*
- 64. *Pompey on a Syrian campaign is appealed to by both sides.*
- 63. *He takes Jerusalem, re-establishes Hyrcan-*

us, but deprives Jews of all their conquests.

REAL END OF JEWISH INDEPENDENCE.

57. *Aristobulus and his son Alexander renew war with Hyrcanus, and are vanquished by Romans. Hyrcanus makes his friend Antipater, an Idumaeen Jew, civil magistrate.*
 54. *Crassus plunders Temple.*
 47. *Antipater appointed governor of Judea by Julius Caesar.*
 46. *Jews in Alexandria give him assistance.*
 44. *Julius Caesar assassinated.*
 43. *Death of Antipater by poison.*
 40. *Parthians support Antigonus—last of the Maccabees—take Jerusalem, and make him king. Herod flees to Rome and is made king of the Jews by Anthony and Augustus.*
 37. *Returns, and is established in power by Romans.*
 35. *Marries Mariamne.*
 29. *Her execution.*
Augustus Roman Emperor.
 17. *Herod begins to rebuild the Temple.*
 6. *Kills his two sons by Mariamne.*
- Exact chronology is here a little vague.
- A.D. *The birth of OUR LORD. The death of Herod. Is succeeded by his son Archelaus.*
- Ten years later, at the suit of the Jews Archelaus is banished to Vienna and Judea made a Roman Province.*

THE END OF BOTH VIRTUAL AND NOMINAL INDEPENDENCE.

45. *Monotony marks the story of the Maccabees. Jonathan had been murdered by treachery and now a like fate awaits Simon. The king of Syria naturally resented his cities and lands taken from him, to say nothing*

of the loss of Judea itself, and now to court favour with him, Simon's own son-in-law invites him to a festival and there assassinates him and his two sons he had invited with him. He then tries to ensnare and murder the remaining brother, John Hyrcanus, but he, less confiding, escapes his toils. There is the usual unsettlement at first, but many rally to his name and once in the saddle he proves even abler than his father. With the Roman genius for consolidation and united amongst themselves still anything was now possible to him and his people. But a pitiless cruelty is bane of both. He proves a great general and amongst other successes he has Samaria at last entirely in his power. Now was the opening for a Semitic league that should have bidden defiance to Greek and Roman alike. But mercy he had none. To the full he wreaked his vengeance on his unhappy kinsmen. He would stamp them out of existence. Their hated temple on Mount Gerizim he razed to the earth. And even this did not glut his fury. To its very foundation the city should be blotted out. The very place of it should be known no more. He turned the waters upon where once it had been and he left it a swamp in which the bittern might cry; a desert in which the lion might prowl.

We need not follow his history in detail. He renewed the alliance with Rome; he made an innovation in introducing mercenaries into his armies, and amongst other conquests he overcame the Idumaeans of the blood of Isaac and who became accepted Jews. Herod the Great was of this country, though he himself claimed to be of pure blood, with pedigree going back to the Babylonian captivity—the hall mark of ancestry.

At this time we see the nation united in formal belief. With worldly success, Hellenism has given place to a violent hate of all things Greek and it is ended. But not so faction. When men in themselves are violently at variance they are never at a loss for excuse to justify their mutual hate. As

Polybius well remarks, it is essential to differentiate between the cause of war and the pretext for war. At this time we see the Maccabees in the height of their popularity, and the heroes of their race, whilst also we begin to find the Pharisees and Sadducees as two definite and distinctive parties. The former are the popular leaders of the day, the latter the wealthy and important citizens. For a time Hyrcanus has identified himself with the Pharisees, but he is beginning to lean to the Sadducees. This, of course, is not the reason why the Pharisees also begin to plot against him, but because they now discover he is not of the pure blood of Aaron on both sides. He is a strong man, not easily to be withstood, but soon once more we are to see the nation plunged in civil war. Then, as one tyrant follows another, we are to find a complete revulsion of feeling to the Maccabean rule and with it inception of the idea that it is in the line of David a Messiah* is to be looked for as restorer of his people, an idea increasingly intolerable to the house of Aaron, with whom is becoming popular the new tenet that God alone is their king, and that it is treason to him to give allegiance to any other monarch. And the Jew, being above all an educated man, is to be appealed to by writings, and many an old writing is to be discovered in which guidance is to be found. The Pharisees in particular found their dogmas most minutely laid down in the "Book of the Jubilees." This wonderful recovery was a revelation given by God to His people actually before the time of Moses himself. And so provident. In a current tongue so that it could be understood. It was a flagrant bit of editing, but, like our forged decretals of the middle ages, escaped challenge and so came to pass muster as years went by. But as regards these quarrellings, we need not probe too deeply into the reasons for them. As ever

* In Ecclesiasticus, written after the accession of Simon, B.C. 143-135, and before the sack of Samaria, B.C. 130, there is as yet no reference to a Messiah.

the nation was radically divided as to sacred things. The old stern puritan was now in the ascendant. On his side were the swaying mob, always found with the flowing tide. But on the other hand were those who saw life from another standpoint. Hellenism was under a cloud, but the temperament that made the Hellenist was there, and it was a temperament that was in fierce disagreement with that of the puritan, however the matter was cloaked or hidden by other things. And this is to be so to the end, when in their fatal divisions is to be found the common ruin of them all.

46. But meantime it is in its awakening we see the new-born nation. And after all its history is not entirely that of its rulers, any more than that of many another country. It is in Zechariah that we really get the best epitome of the people in their character as a whole. It is in his writings we see them in their faith, in their conduct, and in their fortunes. Thus we read: "These are the things that ye shall do: Speak ye every man the truth to his neighbour; execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates; and let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neighbour; and love no false oath; for all these are things that I hate, saith the Lord."

"And the word of the Lord of Hosts came unto me saying, Thus saith the Lord of Hosts: The fast of the fourth month and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth, shall be to the House of Judah joy and gladness and cheerful feasts; therefore love the truth and peace. Thus saith the Lord of Hosts: It shall yet come to pass, that there shall come people, and the inhabitants of many cities: and the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of Hosts: I will go also. Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of Hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord. Thus saith the Lord of Hosts: In those days it shall come to pass, that ten men shall take hold out of all languages of the nations, even

shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you; for we have heard that God is with you." * Thus his song of triumph. All very different to their past, when it had been anything for a leader simply to bring them deliverance from the very terrors of existence. The blessings of simple peace was all they asked. We read the horrors of the times passed through in some of the beautiful psalms of this period. How exquisite the cry, "Oh that I had wings like a dove, for then I would fly away and be at rest. Lo, then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness. I would hasten my escape from this windy storm and tempest." † And what more pathetic than the reproach of those who had forsaken the faith of their fathers and became traitors to their race? (12) "For it was not an enemy that reproached me; then I could have borne it; neither was it he that hated me, that did magnify himself against me; then I would have hid myself from him: But it was thou, a man, mine equal, my guide, and my acquaintance. We took sweet counsel together, and walked unto the House of God in company. How vividly is conjured up the early scene when the good High Priest Onias III. was first treacherously supplanted by his own brother Jason, and a little later was to be foully murdered by his kinsman Menelaus, also supplanter of Jason. And then the scathing indictment (21): "The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart; his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords."

Probably this, and many like psalms, were written whilst these terrible days were still unforgettable; like a terrible tempest just passed through; when the ship is safely docked, and when the present is bright, as we gather from the triumphant exultation (22): "Cast thy burden upon the Lord and He shall sustain thee; He shall never suffer the righteous to be moved." And then the closing anathema: "But

* Zech. viii. 16-23.

† Psalm lv. 6, etc.

Thou, O God, shalt bring them down into the pit of destruction; bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days; but I will trust in Thee."

47. And the great fortunes of the Jews at home are reflected in the many parts of the world where we find the Jews as colonists. In Egypt in particular they had become very numerous. In Isaiah xix. 18 we read: "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts: one shall be called the City of Destruction." We have referred to the murder of Onias III. This was to have important consequences in the ultimate development of the Jewish religion, as well as no small influence on the Christian religion that was to follow it. On the death of Onias his son, also named Onias, fled to Egypt. Trouble in Canaan, and Egypt usually proved a welcome and accessible haven of refuge. Here he was honourably received by Ptolemy, the king. And the temple at Jerusalem being wholly given up to the worship of strange gods, he sought the permission of Ptolemy, readily granted, to build a new temple at Heliopolis, where once more he might establish the true worship of his people. In this new temple and its subsequent fortunes is the sidelight to many a future problem. The very justification for its building he professed to find in the next verse. (19) "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar in the border thereof to the Lord." If any man has been single-eyed in his purpose, it would seem to be this Onias in thus building a new temple. In Jerusalem the worship of Jehovah was dead, and the Jews there were for burying it for good and all. Its resurrection there was little short of the miraculous. But revived, and this Egyptian temple became an evil thing in their eyes, and the later Judean party, as voiced by Josephus, saw it built by Onias, not because he would worship his God as did his people in the past, but because he was evilly inclined to his brethren in Jerusalem. And we find

this difference echoed in the very name of the city itself. In the final revised Canon we find it is in the City of Destruction where this temple is built. But not so in the earlier Septuagint—i.e. Alexandrian or Egyptian copies. Here we find "Achaes," or "Asedek," as the term used which make it to be either the City of the Sun, the equivalent of the received name Heliopolis, or the City of Righteousness, as its local worshippers would call it. But such euphemistic name, whether City of Destruction or City of Righteousness, would depend on the point of view of the writer. No doubt two considerations swayed these colonial Jews: on the one hand they did not wish to be involved in the never ending danger and quarrels of their Palestinian brethren, and on the other they found no little satisfaction in the magnificent successes of the Maccabees and the increased consequence it brought them as well. Perhaps, on the whole, they associated themselves with their brethren in Canaan, though it has ever been the policy of this people to identify themselves with the country of their adoption. Their great citizens learnt to make themselves valuable to the masters they served, who knew that, their word given, and their fidelity could be relied upon. The sanctity of an oath was an essential part of their religion, and it was probably accentuated by their hate of the Greeks, notoriously lax, with whom to differ became the chief article of their faith. And more—to-day it is their pride:—"He that sweareth to his hurt and changeth not." Thus we find them faithful in their allegiance, even when it ran somewhat counter to the interest of their own people. For example, it is in this very family of Onias we are to find the Jewish generals the last to forsake the crumbling dynasty of the Ptolemies. In such matters every colony was a law unto itself, nor had they any constitution to give effect to a common policy. The nearest approach to united action was when Caligula later on in his madness would have had his statue erected in their temples, and be worshipped as a god

both at Heliopolis and Jerusalem. This outraged the deepest feelings of every Jew throughout the Empire, and it is almost certain that the great proconsuls simply dared not enforce the emperor's edict. The whole Jewish world was in flames, and probably it was this incident which opened the eyes of both to the power that was behind this great race. But the unity amongst them was but for a moment. It was their dissensions which were permanent, and which, when the great struggle came, spelt their ruin total and complete.

48. After the thirty years of glorious rule which we have recorded, Hyrcanus died, and was succeeded by his son Aristobulus, who assumed the title of king. His reign was the briefest. He seems to have had more heart than many of this family, for having starved his mother to death because she was treacherous to him as king, and assassinated his brother; he had the grace soon after to die in an agony of remorse.

He was followed by his younger brother, Alexander Jannaeus, who in those days even was a monster of cruelty. The party of the Pharisees were now altogether in arms against him, and with the people behind them, succeeded in driving him out of power. A freak of fortune reversed the position, and he wreaked a most terrible vengeance on them. "Nay, his rage was grown so extravagant that his barbarity proceeded to a degree of impiety; for when he had ordered eight hundred to be hung upon crosses in the midst of the city, he had the throats of their wives and children cut before their eyes, and these executions he saw as he was drinking and lying down with his concubines."

On his death his eldest son, Hyrcanus II., succeeded him as High Priest, but the real power was left in the hands of his mother. She, on the advice of her dying husband, who had realized his mistake in quarrelling with the Pharisees, now made them her friends, and under their aegis ruled well for nine years. But this far from suited the proud spirit of

Aristobulus, younger brother of Hyrcanus, who never rested until he had deposed him and made himself king in his stead. Hyrcanus would have acquiesced but for his great friend Antipater, the father of Herod the Great. As we have noticed, he was a Jew of Idumaea, and though of no important family was of consequence on account of his great wealth, and he was never ceasing in urging him to assert his rights. Thus civil war, with varying fortunes, ensued, which was more bitter than usual even amongst them.

And at this time Pompey was carrying out his campaign in Coele-Syria generally. Both sides made him great promises and sent him large presents, as they appealed to him for his support one against the other. He acted most circumspectly. The Jews were friends and allies of the Romans. But there was only one end when Rome was thus appealed to. Step by step events led up to the investing and taking of Jerusalem. With his then force it had easily withstood him but for their own divisions. In the main he was assisted by Hyrcanus, and the city was his. But he was no common conqueror. He took the temple, but did not touch so much as a drachma in its treasury; neither would he interrupt the daily service at the altar.

But for all that, the independence of the Jews was at an end. From now on they were to be ruled by a nominee of Rome. As regards their outside cities and territories, these Pompey freed from their rule and confined them strictly within their own bounds. Thus we read of Hippos, Sythopolis, Pella, Dios, and Samaria as also taken from them, Marissa, Ashdod, Jamnia, and Arethusa, as well as Gadara to be rebuilt. In addition he also liberated the maritime cities of Gaza, Joppa, Dora, as well as Stratos tower, which Herod beautified, changing its name to Caesarea. All these Pompey joined to the province of Syria, and in its ruins we see how great their kingdom had become. But it is in name alone that they now are "allies" of Rome.

49. Pompey, more than satisfied with the realities

of success, was careful to avoid unnecessary offence to the susceptibilities of the Jews. He had simply intervened at their request to decide between two claimants to the kingdom, and he had found in favour of the elder brother Hyrcanus II. And it was a signal party triumph which had been secured, and what, compared with it, the independence of their country? Mahomet had never overrun the East had he not found the Christians more bitterly hating one another than even himself. But for all that, faction is far from ended. They are now to be involved in the fierce party fighting amongst the Romans themselves. Pompey and Julius Caesar are now in contest for the mastery of the Roman Empire. At first Pompey had sent Aristobulus as prisoner to Rome. There he was well received. According to Josephus he was a man of great soul. Escaping thence, he returned to Judea to pose as a popular leader to deliver the country from foreign influence. Fortune was too hard for him. He was again beaten and carried back to Rome, where he was imprisoned by the Senate. Meantime his mantle fell on his son Alexander, who continued the struggle. Then Caesar, having made himself master of Rome, released Aristobulus, and giving him two legions of soldiers, sent him back once more to subdue the country. This, however, came to nought, as he was treacherously poisoned, and things also faring badly with Alexander, he was seized and executed by Scipio at Antioch. Thus his end, and the cause now devolved upon his brother Antigonus. Altogether it was a miserable time for the Jews. The affairs were too trifling and complicated to be worth particularizing here. However they went, they suffered. Whichever general was triumphant mattered little to them. They were impartially slaughtered and plundered by all alike. Crassus wanted money for his eastern campaign and violently stripped the temple. Cassius found excuse for like rapacity, and Anthony was no whit behind in his wants and his greed. No wonder a popular party became strong in influence if not in force

which should end these horrible spoilings. Hyrcanus and Antipater meant well and in intervals of quiet governed fairly wisely. But feeling was strong against them, the one that he tolerated the foreigner, the other that he was of ignoble blood. And the very fact that they identified themselves with Rome the more alienated their former rivals. Hence the numerous risings, always popular, and under every variety of leader. We get little of the real merits from Josephus, who was to the core of the Rome party, and who chiefly saw in these insurgents marauders and robbers. And this is the label mostly attached to them by historians following his lead. But obviously there was more behind it than we now know. Thus we observe that Hyrcanus was not only friendly with the Romans, but as much so with the Athenians, who went so far as to erect his statue in brass in the temple of Demus and of the graces. On this little comment is needed. We know the violent antipathy of the orthodox to images in every form, and this incident would tend to show that as ever—from the days of the first worship of the golden calf—the nation is still divided in its outlook on matters of religion. Obviously there is still the Hellenistic spirit—Hellenism represented a great world-principle—and naturally to outsiders like Antipater it would far more appeal than the sterner outlook of the puritan Jews. These probably would be found among the rural aristocracy and the humbler population, the small farmers and their servants, rather than amongst the commercial and more cosmopolitan part of the community. A stronghold of such Jews certainly seems to have been found in Galilee who, like Mattathias, delighted in uncompromising hostility to every foreign innovation, especially in things religious. As we follow their history it will be seen that the principal men amongst them were probably of the House of David. They had fallen upon evil times since the days when Zerubbabel led the return of the first exiles from Babylon. It is more than likely that the Maccabees found their lineage inconvenient, and

they were not too nice with rival pretensions that troubled them. The hostility between the two is to remain until the end, and is to be the source of terrible misfortune in the not too distant future.

Meanwhile, as leaders, they find equal delight in Judas Maccabaeus, and in his methods of carrying on war against the wicked and ungodly. We recollect how, at first, he gathered about him a small band of men like himself, with whom he raided the surrounding country, and how in most amazing fashion the movement grew and prospered until folly and division alone prevented it becoming the great power of the East. No doubt Josephus saw these robbers as most hateful of ordinary criminals; but for all that behind this word "robber" we must probably read some political movement as well. Certainly is this so in the case of Hezekias of Galilee. He was a man of great resource and was captain of a band of robbers. With them he overran parts of Syria, which he kept in a state of terror. And then Herod, hardly more than a boy, given charge of Galilee, with signal skill and courage tracked him down, captured him, and slew him. So great his triumph he became a hero sung in song. And surely the destruction of a common robber, disturber of the peace, was a matter of general congratulation. But not so at all. On the contrary there were tremendous scenes in Jerusalem, and Herod was called to answer to the charge of having put him to death without his having been first condemned by the Sanhedrin. And this was contrary to the law, and worthy of death. And the accusers were reinforced by the cries and complaints of the wives and mothers of those whom he had slain. And Herod defiantly answered the summons, attended by his soldiers; but for all that would have been condemned had not Hyrcanus, on the motion of the Romans, and by their expressed desire, adjourned the charge that Herod might escape to Damascus. And later on, in power, Herod bitterly avenged himself on those who had thus brought him into peril. So far

from this Hezekias being a common malefactor, he was probably of royal blood, and later on we see his son Judas founder of the fourth party of the Jews, and his grandson Manahem, assuming the actual title of king. And it is in the opposition of this fourth party to the Rome party that we find the political key to these times. But most unfortunately we can only pick out the story from Josephus. Obviously in the palaces of the Caesars, their favoured friend, he had to weigh every word he said; and further, it was with this fourth party he was in most violent animosity. Thus not a word to their credit is likely to escape from his pen except by accident. For us this family has the highest interest. It was in this Judas that the people saw the beginnings of those Messiahs or Christs referred to in the gospels, who were to lead away the people, and in his followers many of the early Christians are to be identified. So also we see in these same people the same fierce fanaticism, indomitable bravery, and utter contempt for life and suffering which is to be their distinguishing feature in the days to come.

50. And for a moment fortune favoured the popular party, and Herod's fortunes were at the lowest ebb. Julius Caesar was assassinated and Antipater murdered. The Parthians also took up the cause of Antigonus, and he had to flee for his life. After many dangers escaped he reached Rome, where he was well received by Anthony and Augustus. With their favour his fortunes revived, and collecting an army he returned to conquer the kingdom which these two great potentates conferred upon him. Meantime, Antigonus, once more master for the time being, deposed Hyrcanus, and to ensure his never again resuming office—for no maimed man might be High Priest—cut off both his ears; or, according to the other account of Josephus, bit them off whilst he was kneeling to him begging mercy.

But Herod had by no means an altogether easy task resuming possession. There were still large numbers

of these Galilean insurgents to be rounded up and destroyed. And they proved doughty antagonists. They refused to be affrighted by his assaults, but met him in arms; for their skill was that of warriors, but their boldness was that of robbers. But it did not avail, and Herod's genius and forces proved too much for them, and they were routed and dispersed. But their final conquest was a matter of time, for they had caves and fastnesses in the precipices of craggy mountains which were not to be approached from any side save by winding pathways, very narrow, which it was impossible to master. Then, as a counter-stroke he let down by ropes from above men in chests who, thus getting a footing, were able to make good their position, and then overcome and burn them out of their retreats. Then Herod made proclamation that he would save those who delivered themselves up peaceably, but not one of them came willingly to him. And those taken preferred death to captivity. And one old man, a father who had seven children who wished to accept Herod's offer, ordered them to leave the cave; and standing at its mouth slew them one by one as they went out. And though unable to save them, Herod was witness of the whole scene and, wrung with compassion, begged him to spare his children. But he did not relent, but only reproached Herod on the lowness of his descent, and slew his wife as well; and when he had thrown their dead bodies down the precipice he hurled himself after them and so made end. Such these robbers that Josephus held in contempt.

Also affairs were going ill with the Parthians. This re-acting on the fortunes of Antigonus, after a short reign of some three years he also succumbed to Herod, backed as he was by the power of Rome. Captured, he was sent prisoner to Anthony, who at first proposed keeping him prisoner against his triumph; but finding the goodwill the people bore him, regarded him as a danger, and resolved forthwith to execute him, which he did by beheading. This dishonourable death he

inflicted that he might lessen the influence of his memory amongst the nation, and that they might be brought to more favourably regard Herod, who was now to be their king.

And so the Maccabees quit the stage. Herod holds his crown by the gift of the Romans, but otherwise is independent. It has been but a change of dynasty for the Jews, if they will so regard it.

But that is a very open question.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HOUSE OF HEROD.

¶ 51. THUS established, we are soon to see Herod as King of the Jews. His career was a phenomenal success even for those days. We have seen that it was the pride of his father that he was of bluest Babylonian blood, and in this pride Herod equally shared. And his life was to be devoted to making his dominions as magnificent as possible. Until age and infirmities overtook him he proved himself a great monarch. With accession to power one of his first acts was to marry Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who had so vigorously opposed him. She was gloriously beautiful, and he was desperately in love with her; and he made her brother, also famed even as far as Rome for his personal charms, the High Priest of the Temple. Unhappily, soon after the youth was drowned, a mishap attributed by some to his machinations. Having regard to his undoubted passion for his wife at this time, this is not as probable as otherwise it might have been. And the story of his love might well make the subject of a great tragedy. He was ever infatuated, but malicious whisperings and poisonous suggestion did their work only too well, and distrust too soon divided. And she spurned his advances, scorned his words of affection. And he,

now beseeching return of love, now in fury at her cold disdain, in evil moment is persuaded by those who hate her, to do her to death. He is never afterwards altogether the same, and proves a veritable Blue Beard or Henry VIII. anticipate, and marries eight more wives, many of whom come to untimely ends. He was one of the notable successes of the world. He was confirmed by Augustus in the whole of the Maccabean kingdom of Judea, Samaria, Galilee, Peraea, and Idumaea, but he had not exactly happy domestic life. Perhaps the greatest blot on his fame in these early days was his murder of poor old Hyrcanus, his father's friend, and who had loved him as his own son. But in those faction-ridden times it may well have been he was never safe as long as any possible rallying cry was left to people so intolerant of rule. Any trifle served as excuse for the wildest turbulence, and any puppet served as a popular leader against authority. No doubt a section of the nation chafed exceedingly at their loss of liberty; but really, when did a people use liberty worse, or less deserve to be free? The worst government is better than no government, or government by factions in eternal feud. But Herod was a strong man, and for a time against its will his country had rest. And he did his utmost to deserve well of his subjects. From his tributary cities he had a great revenue, and the temple also continued to receive contributions from the faithful all over the world. And they were many. There was hardly a city now of any importance that had not its contingent of this race. A cradle never empty, they solved the problem of population by seeking their fortunes in every land. And this great wealth above all he lavished on Jerusalem and its citizens. How he rebuilt the Temple on a scale of superlative grandeur is well known; and in times of famine, his ordinary resources exhausted, he sold the very gold and silver ornaments of his palaces that he might buy corn from Egypt to satisfy their necessities. And he would further ingratiate himself with his subjects. With the greatest

pomp and magnificence, which would have left in ecstasies the rabble of any other city, having built a grand amphitheatre, he would there celebrate games after the manner of the Greeks. In music and song, in arena and circus, he would have contestants of the greatest renown. He offered huge prizes to attract the "fancy" from the whole then civilized world. In vain. In these contests the competitors took part naked, and he is instantly up against that stern puritan strain which will have none of such things. One recollects how, in our youth, the ballet was regarded with the same horror by some of our forbears, who saw in the theatre an annex of the brothel and a half-way house to hell. And he is trying to please a people who above all will not be pleased. Vain is his piping, his singing in the market-place. They will have no favour of a master calling himself their king. They are not to be danced and sung out of their passion for liberty. It is liberty they desire; above all, liberty to serve their God as in the days of their fathers. And these shows are an abomination to the Lord. And the recollection is hardly yet dead of the glorious singing on another occasion, truly glorious, when Simon officiated for his people before the altar of their own Jehovah. And we can hear that wonderful sixty-eighth psalm thundered forth by thousands of excited and exultant throats: "Let God arise. Let His enemies be scattered. Let them also that hate Him flee before Him." And so on, every line reverberating with wild but glorious emotion. And now they are to be pandered to and tickled and soothed with these cursed songs of the Gentiles, their shows, and their vile suggestions. Away with them; and they decline to be pacified.

52. And Herod dead, and the succession of his son Archelaus causes the wildest commotion. "We will not have this man to reign over us." By constitutional means and unconstitutional means they oppose him. They send a deputation to Rome, and pray to be made a Roman province rather than delivered over to his rule. In the country itself there are wild risings and

defiance of all authority. Augustus, after patient hearing of both sides, confirmed him in his kingdom. This was followed by further violent outbreaks, which for a time almost threatened the imperial rule itself. In these ten thousands of disorders we see as leading spirit Judas of Galilee. He was son of that Hezekias whose capture by Herod when a youth had brought him so much renown. Like his father, Judas was a strong man, and was the founder of the fourth party which was to play all-important part in the subsequent politics of the Jews. Recalling both the history of David and of the Maccabees, and realizing what resolution could do, he made an assault upon the palace at Sepphoris, in Galilee, and seized the arsenal and treasure in it, and made himself terrible to all men. His success was such that he aspired to the royal dignity itself, and no honour was deemed too great for his fortunes. From the antipathy of Josephus to him and his family, and his excessive indignation at his temerity in claiming to be king, it would seem that he was rather of the House of David than the House of Aaron, from whom alone, according to the notions of Josephus, all honours were to be traced. "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah." True! but who the proud priest to concede the pre-eminence? And the time came when his house, the royal house of David, had declined in importance. In the very promise of its restoration we have evidence of how lowly its estate had become. "In that day will I raise the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof. And I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in days of old."* And in the Maccabees of the same priestly house we trace a rival and enemy to his family. In inchoate state, the doctrine of the "Messiah" found favour with the Pharisees, who found all promises fulfilled in the great Judas and his successors. That any signs were to be found in any other would-be Christ they resolutely denied. We can thus understand how this remnant of a royal line,

* Amos ix. 11.

probably hunted and proscribed, were driven to find safety in the fastnesses of Galilee, where they were certain of finding friends and sympathizers as well. It is rather a pretty story, the affection of these northern tribes for Judah. In the days of his prosperity "Hezekiah sent to all Israel, and wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh, that they should come to the House of the Lord at Jerusalem to keep the Passover unto the Lord God of Israel. . . . So the posts passed from city to city through the country of Ephraim and Manasseh, even unto Zebulon; but they laughed them to scorn and mocked them. Nevertheless, divers of Asher and Manasseh and of Zebulon humbled themselves and came to Jerusalem.* And this good feeling found in the north persisted in their descendants when we find the Galileans equally attached to their brethren in Jerusalem, and opposed to their neighbours the Samaritans. That Judas was one of the family of these refugees is confirmed by the political upheaval which the execution of his father Hezekias by Herod had occasioned in Jerusalem, as well as the consideration there shown him. In this home of family prejudice his birth was never matter of scorn, not even by Josephus, who altogether detested him, his family, and his party. He assumed the leadership of right, it remained with his family, and it was never challenged. "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" was never asked of him. But in addition to those headed by Judas there were many other risings in Galilee, the hot-bed of intrigue against Rome. It was the very centre of disaffection, and was in continual protest against the tyranny of Rome. Amongst these turbulent people, no leader who raised the flag of revolt was in want of followers. There was one, Simon. He had been a slave of Herod. He declared for independence. Then there was a shepherd, Athronges, who, with his four brothers, all mighty men of their hands, collected a body of like enthusiasts, and made themselves a terror to the very legions of

*2 Chron. xxx. 1, 10-11.

Rome itself. In those days they knew no neutral. Either defy Rome with them, or be pillaged. They were either grim, fierce patriots or violent men and robbers, according to the point of view of their observer. Josephus, ever supporter of Rome, saw them as criminals alone. Thus Galilee and Judea were in one wild state of disorder. But Rome was no divided Greek power to let disaffection grow unchecked. Under Varus, President of Syria, the rising was mercilessly crushed. Having defeated the rebels, he captured two thousand of them, whom he crucified. The principal men of Jerusalem were able to clear themselves of any complicity in the national rising; it was a popular movement, of which they had rather been the victims than the authors.

Thus for the time we see Archelaus confirmed in his kingdom. But it is no peaceful time, no happy relations which he is to have with his subjects. Then, in the tenth year of his government, the principal men of Judea and Samaria, not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him before Caesar. And Augustus was so wrath with him that he would not even write to him, but ordered him to report himself in Rome. Then, having heard the case, he deposed him, confiscated his estate, and banished him to Vienna. And acceding to their wishes he made Judea part of the Roman province of Syria, over which he had just appointed Cyrenius as governor. To him he deputed the carrying through all the formalities of the transfer, the sale of the house of Archelaus, and the disposal of his money. Thus even the last vestige of independence was taken from them. Bitterly as they resented a stranger king—for so they regarded Herod—yet hitherto the semblance of government had remained much the same. The ruler, however appointed, was usually an autocrat, and provided the tribute came regularly to hand, there was very little interference either in the method of its collection or in other domestic matters. This was much the same, whoever was overlord—Persian or

Greek or Roman. But once made into a province of the empire and the system was changed in its entirety. Then was brought home to them in every incident of daily life that now indeed they were a conquered people. Some realized the temporal advantages that followed from being part of the Roman Empire, and which, in their eyes, far exceeded any sentimental objections to such dependency; but to those of the Judas party it was bitterness itself. At times their animosity slumbered. When the rule was strong and there was no particular grievance they submitted, but sullenly at best. But all the proud, turbulent spirits were on their side, and the most trifling slight to their law or their religion and some wild outburst was the result. Their more peacefully inclined brethren at home and in their many colonies far from sympathized with them. In fact, they found much solid satisfaction in law and order rigorously enforced. They dreaded the tyranny of these enthusiasts more than that of an alien master. As for their cry, "No king but God," it found no response in other parties, and they only heard in it a plausible faction cry, neither commanded by their law nor warranted by their history, and ever to be abandoned when one of their line aspired to the crown. For themselves it was enough that Rome was anxiety itself to govern them according to their laws; was willing to call to swift account any governor who was oppressive, and was ever ready to find great careers for their greatest men. A slight study of existing political conditions shows how much it was to the interests of the empire to attach to her independent nations like the Jews. Its very strength was in having subject people on whose fidelity it could rely. We can see in interest alone every motive for the empire seeking to attach them to itself. And in particular at this time the Jews were worth cultivating. They were now so widespread and important; their colonies were so numerous and their ramifications so general, that it was high policy to conciliate them to the utmost. There is little doubt that by now they

were become the bankers of the world, and altogether the most formidable organization with which the empire might have to cope. They were in a position to work silently, secretly, and beneath the surface, and in every land. Many a trouble in its incipience they were in a position to foment or suppress. And secured, and their reputation was to be ever faithful subjects and on the whole a strong stabilizing influence. But these home irreconcilables, whose strength so much lay in the rural population, were the discordant element. Their liberty—with which largely they seemed to have identified their faith, they put first and foremost in their outlook on life. They are of a race that knows no compromise. The court party they abhor, they are fanatical and unreasonable. In their blood the old puritanism of their forefathers runs strong. They will die; but accommodate in religious thought? Never!

53. And now our interest centres round those terrible followers of Judas and their successors. As for those in antagonism to them, they are the very ordinary, commonplace, worldly-wise men we find in such abundance on every hand and in every age, and need no further particular mention. Those who square their beliefs with their material advantage are too universal to occasion any remark. But a man who has an idea, and will die for it—well, whatever the idea, he is already one of the immortals, and we would reverently ask, what of the spirit that inspired him? We would by no means suggest that all these successors of Judas were thus moved. Probably, then as now, there were evil-minded charlatans who took advantage of the simplicity of their fellows to prosecute their own schemes of ambition; but for all that, there was this core of single-eyed enthusiasts both in Galilee and Judea, who alone made such movements possible. No doubt, as time passed, and disorders multiplied and increased, a spirit of lawlessness overwhelmed the country, until we find the very boys and girls delighting in bloodshed, and a nation brought up to violence from

its cradle. And bloodshed appealed to, and, unless superior power intervenes, the poison will spread and increase until a whole country is plunged in crimson ruin, and the very terms right and wrong cease to connote any specific ideas. All this in its utmost horrors was to be the fate of Judea in the next fifty or sixty years. These sanguinary uprisings ceased only when resolutely held down by the strong arm of Rome. This spirit of insubordination was like high-pressure steam in a boiler. The slightest flaw and it was there to burst forth and deluge the land in murders, rioting, and war. And Josephus and his school saw in them a poor, ignorant mob, deluded by imposters, fishers in troubled waters, men who sought only their own advancement in the general confusion.

Maybe, but for all that they played with an idea—an idea for which they were ready to lay down their lives. And this Josephus could never appreciate. The last thing he personally was prepared to do was to sacrifice his life for an idea. On the contrary, we shall find him saving it by a trick, and no very respectable trick either. To really understand that period we have but to ask ourselves what our future had been as a race if the Germans had conquered us. As a servile race we never could have continued to exist. And freedom impossible—for once down, no matter how; no matter whether due to felon blow or assassin's stab; we had never this side many a century risen again—and there is not a doubt this old Jewish story would have been repeated. Some, but I doubt if they had been many, would have seen on which side their bread was buttered, and apostates and recreants, more German than the German himself, would have risen on their country's ruins. And in their history again would be the history of the Greek, who, with loss of freedom, so degenerated that we hardly know him as one of the same race as the heroes of Marathon, Salamis, or Thermopylace. But for ourselves we have too much the same spirit of these wild robbers and assassins and sicarii of Josephus for this to have

been our fate. Rather we should have found parallel in their history and not in that of the Greek, who accepted the domination imposed on him, and who in shame passed out of history. Those old Jews under Simon and his followers had tasted the thrilling delights of liberty. It had become their very nature itself. Read again and yet again their songs in which many of our liberty-loving forbears have also found promise and inspiration; tremendous songs of victory. And this had become part of their very religion itself. There was only one end for such people—victory or annihilation. And for us? Helpless, hopeless, disarmed, yet rising on rising had marked our history until the final act, and we wiped out of existence, this land had known our race no more. And those telling our story—how would they read the riddle of our times? Would they see a number of inconsequent unreasoning outbreaks against ordered authority, or, probing a little deeper, see into the heart of things, realize what they all really meant? Would they write in condemnation of such folly? or with more insight transcribe: Here were a people like the Jews of sacred writ, who, having known liberty, would die as free men rather than live as slaves.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A ROMAN PROVINCE.

¶ 53A. HERE we note the following dates :—

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| | A.D. | |
| | 14. | <i>Death of Augustus. Tiberias succeeds him.</i> |
| 25—36. | | <i>Pontius Pilate Procurator. Death of Christ.</i> |
| | 37. | <i>Caligula. Herod Agrippa king of Judaea.</i> |
| | 41. | <i>Claudius emperor.</i> |
| | 45. | <i>Fadus succeeds Herod Agrippa.</i> |
| | 46. | <i>Followed by Tiberius Alexander.</i> |

- 48. *Cumanus and Felix succeed him.*
- 51. *Felix sole ruler.*
- 54. *Nero.*
- 59. *Festus procurator.*

54. And now a Roman province, and they have a very concrete fact to inflame their discontent. Hitherto the tribute paid to Rome had been paid indirectly, and as for centuries it had been to their various overlords. Now this is to be changed. Cyrenius, a Roman of high dignity and greatest experience, was made president of Syria, in which province the Jews were to be included. Their own particular governor was to be one Coponius, also of the equestrian order, but in the beginning Cyrenius himself superintended the actual taking over of the new department. And then followed the necessary and consequent general valuation for the purposes of taxation. Now taxes are to be paid to Rome direct, in a coin the very token of their humiliation, and their subjection is brought home to every house. And hence the tremendous question, "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Caesar or not?" And now we see the priest class throwing in its lot with Rome. According to Josephus the incident would have passed over without any trouble, for though at the beginning they took the report of a taxation heinously, yet by the persuasion of the High Priest they left off opposition to it and gave the account of their estates as required; but now this Judas, "taking with him Sadduc, a Pharisee, became zealous to draw them to a revolt, who said that this taxation was no better than an introduction to slavery, and exhorted the nation to assert its liberty as if they could procure them happiness, and security for what they possessed, and an assured enjoyment of a still greater good, which was that of the honour and glory they would thereby acquire for magnanimity. . . . So men received what they said with pleasure, and this bold attempt proceeded to a great height. All sorts of misfortunes also sprang from these men, and

the nation was infected with this doctrine to an incredible degree; one violent war came upon us after another; and we lost our friends who used to alleviate our pain; there were also very great robberies and murders of our principal men. This was done, indeed, in pretence for the public welfare, but in reality for the hopes of gain to themselves; whence arose seditions, and from them murders of men, which sometimes fell on those of their own people (by the madness of these men towards one another, while their desire was that none of the adverse party might be left) and sometimes on their enemies. A famine also coming upon us, reduced us to the last degree of despair, as did also the taking and demolishing of cities; nay, the sedition at last increased so high that the very temple of God was burnt down by their enemies' fire. Such were the consequences of this that the customs of our fathers were altered, and such a change was made as added a mighty weight toward bringing all to destruction, which these men occasioned by conspiring together. For Judas and Sadduc, who excited a fourth philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers therein, filled our civil government with tumults at present, and laid the foundations of our future miseries by this system of philosophy which we were before unacquainted withal; concerning which I shall discourse a little, and this the rather because the infection which spread thence among the younger sort who were zealous for it brought the public to destruction." After a full account of the Pharisees, who lived meanly, despised delicacies, respected age, and believed in the resurrection; and of the Sadducees, in doubts as to any future existence, and utterly denying the Greek doctrine of Hades, with its punishments and rewards; and of the Essenes, the great communists of those times, and who strove for righteousness; he adds, "But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions, but they have an inviolable attach-

ment to liberty, and they say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. They also do not value dying any kinds of death, nor, indeed, do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man lord; and since this immoveable resolution of theirs is known to a great many, I shall speak no further about that matter, nor am I afraid that anything I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather that what I have said is beneath the resolution they show when they undergo pain; and it was in Gessius Florus' time that the nation began to grow mad with the distemper, who was our procurator, and who occasioned the Jews to go wild with it by the abuse of his authority, and to make them revolt from the Romans. And these are the sects of Jewish philosophy." The last thing that Josephus would write would be anything to add to the credit of this family, but it certainly confirms the fact that they were of the royal line of David. Nor could they have belonged to any other to have attained this dignity and importance. The Maccabees had failed in their mission of delivering Israel; the priest class, as ever, had proved themselves unfitted for rule when times were troublous and dangers many; and it was for this house to unite the race of Israel in one triumphant uprising against the common oppressor. In David all were one. He was the glory of all alike. As regards the Israelitish defection, their kings had been more or less a succession of adventurers, some of whom, like Ahab, had acquired consequence by inter-marriage with the kings of Judah, but who otherwise had no claim on the loyalty of their subjects. And through the centuries, whether days were evil or days were bright, these same kings of Judah never abandoned their titular claim to sovereignty over the rest of Israel, though real power had long passed from them. In 2 Chronicles xxi. 2, we read, "all these were the sons of Jehosaphat, king of ISRAEL." This word Israel is no penman's slip, as some Bible commentators suggest, but is the reinsistence of such pre-

tensions. And in these terrible times memories of intervening centuries of quarrelling are to be blotted out, and there are many who would once more unite under a name the pride and glory of them all alike. That the priests and their mouthpiece Josephus should loathe them the more is only as we should expect, but for all that it is in them we find voiced the aspirations of the race.

55. During the next few decades we do not find this fourth party in any violent outbreak. In Augustus Caesar the world had a powerful, just, and determined ruler. Whilst careful to avoid occasion for offence, he was not one to see sedition grow unchecked. The same policy was continued by Tiberias, who was well disposed to the Jews, and whose great friends were Herod the Tetrarch of Galilee and his kinsman Herod Agrippa. It was by him Pontius Pilate was appointed procurator of Judea, but he had so little studied the nation which he was called upon to govern that he brought statues of the Emperor from Caesarea to set up in Jerusalem. He quickly realized the *faux pas* he had made, but removing them was a delicate matter. The story might reach the palace at Rome, and . . . the people would die rather than allow them to remain. He could not immolate a whole city, and they had to be removed. But it was with no good grace that he gave in. Then he improved the water supply of the city, but as he used devoted money—the "corban" of the gospels—it occasioned another wild tumult. Following the condemnation of Christ about the year A.D. 34, he became embroiled with the Samaritans and Vitellius, the governor of Syria, his superior, took their part and sent him home to Rome to answer concerning it. So, if tradition be correct, there was also the more serious charge of the execution of Christ to be explained. It certainly was a political blunder of the first magnitude, and was to have disastrous consequences. For the time relations with Rome were improving. We see it in the reception which Vitellius had when he visited Jerusalem. He was magnificently

received—his condemnation of Pilate no doubt adding much to his popularity, and he in turn responded by conferring many favours. We fill in these years and get local colour from our gospels, which cover this period. Doctrine apart, and religion apart, and taking the accounts at their lowest possible value as legend and tradition alone—the most exigent critic will at least admit they are existent—we get a vivid picture of the times. What we read is the story of a king, not merely of a spiritual king, or a mystery king, or a king imagined for edification, but of an actual king, a king *de jure*, though possibly not *de facto*, but for all that every whit as much recognized by his followers as their temporal lord as if the weight of government had been on his shoulders. The Jews in their tribal relations were much as many a Scottish clan, which had its chief to whom they gave whole-hearted allegiance. And such was Christ among His people. From His birth to His death His royal descent is emphasised, and in His life He is of right royal carriage. He speaks as one having authority; He is of those who order and do not obey. And the more literally we read the narrative in this respect, the more perfectly He fits into His niche in the history of man. The account begins with His royal ancestral house. His pedigree would not exactly carry a peerage in our House of Lords, but as tradition it is unanswerable, and it is of one otherwise accepted as the undoubted descendant of their king. And all the legends connected with His birth are those of a royal child. His parents—humble, maybe, in this world's goods, but great in ancestry—live at Nazareth. Sentiment imperatively demands that the royal infant shall be born in Bethlehem, the city of His fathers. But there is danger in any such venture. Herod, destroyer in his youth of Hezekias, is not likely in his age to be too kind to the scion of any princely house. He would have no titular head about whom this most turbulent of people could rally. And in their turn they have established relations with

every possible potential enemy of Herod and of Rome, and amongst them the Persians have been advised of the expected birth of an heir, and they have cast the horoscope of the child, they have calculated the star of his nativity, and they have come to bring Him salutation and royal gifts. And so also the country folk, the farmers, the shepherds, the peasants, the backbone of the resistance to Herod and his rule have been kept advised, and the event has evoked great rejoicing. It was in this element of the people the strength of the David party was to be found, and at this juncture they had every reason for wishing to inflame their enthusiasm to the highest pitch possible. And rumours of their proceedings reached Herod, and proved that their fears were well founded. The massacre of the Innocents finds no place in history, but for all that some poor child may well have been put out of the way in mistake for the infant Jesus. But Herod's efforts were vain. The wise men from the East took other road home, and the child and its mother with Joseph found refuge in Egypt. There, and in Alexandria in particular, they were certain of welcome. That they were of the Galilean party would be no drawback, for the Egyptian Jew, as we remember, had his own temple at Heliopolis, and was in none too great sympathy with his priestly brother at home.

And we follow Christ through His life. It is always as a royal figure that we see Him. We have but a glimpse of Him as a boy of twelve, but we see Him even then as commanding respect. At this time the Jews were well governed and were enjoying much prosperity both at home and in their many settlements. In consequence a new spirit was growing up amongst them, so that many were prepared to accept the position, viz. that of an honoured dependency of the Roman empire. In this period of calm there was a great wave of popular feeling in favour of peace generally. This in especial was the trend of thought in Alexandria, and was not altogether dis-

tasteful to the Jews of the homeland. And more, for the moment we are to see the irreconcilable element also quiescent, and the ensuing years are to be singularly deficient in incident both in Galilee and Judea alike. And the reason would not seem to be far to seek. In His most impressionable years Christ had come within the influence of the strong peace party in Egypt. There had been the flight into Egypt, which probably lasted until the deposition of Archelaus some ten years later, and when he returned to Galilee it is to make himself definitely the leader of the movement in his own country. With the opinion of Alexandria solid in support of his policy, he was probably able to carry with him these patriots ever so restless. But with them their loyalty was beyond question, and they accept the conclusions of their accepted chief. And Christ deprecates all hostility to Rome. The need of His people is peace. For Himself He disclaims all earthly sovereignty. Its assertion means risings, and wars, and massacres, and reprisals, and He sets His face against them all. His kingdom is not of this world. It is as a spiritual teacher He will conquer mankind. His mission is to teach His disciples a new and higher life. And thus we see Him contemporaneous with the one moderately long period of peace which in these times the country knew. Other causes no doubt contributed to the same end, but can we in reason dissociate Him entirely from such results? That He is never mentioned by Josephus—passages referring either to Christ or His apostles are so obviously spurious as not to be worth a second thought—is that the very peace He was instrumental in preserving was the very reason for there being so little to attract the attention of the most attentive of historians. It is in His teaching that Christ is to remake the world, and Josephus lived in days when His teaching for the time was to be altogether lost sight of. In Christ's own life it made certain headway; then, in the storm that followed, war and its cries filled the land, and it was only after

calamity had overwhelmed the race that men's minds went back to their great Master who had warned them of the dangers that were before them if they took the road of the sword. "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword," and with them so it was.

56. But for all such teaching the priestly class were venomous in their hate of Christ. The Christ, more correctly, Jesus the Christ: the Messiah: the BRANCH: the Anointed: the KING. And they hated all kings. Kings were only to be tolerated when they grovelled to their order, or when the title was but adjunct to the greater title of High Priest. And for all the fourth party had taken up their cry, "No king but God," it was in disdain and not in support of their pretensions to rule as God's nominees. And more, they had revived the slumbering rights of the royal and sacred house of David. It had fallen upon evil days, but now for purposes of their own this Judas party had resurrected every pretension with tenfold insistence. "And Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him." The menace in the birth of Christ was not limited to Herod alone. In dull times priestly leadership might suffice, but war brewing and a king was in demand. It was thus in the days of Saul—"Give us a king to lead us into battle." A high priest might serve to offer prayers for victory, make sacrifice, and such like, but the people wanted a leader not afraid of hard blows. And what of this new pretender, this new Christ or anointed one born outside their body and its authority, and whose birth already had been occasion of so much grievous anxiety? What matter His political attitude, whether in accord or out of accord with their general policy. He was not to be brooked. And more, this Jesus—the worse that He was the undoubted heir—was no mere puppet in abler hands, nor did He go out of His way to placate them. His heart was torn for the miseries of His people, and the imprecations of Amos paled before those He showered on themselves. In them and their Scribes and Pharisees He saw the oppressors of His people.

Maybe in His own home life he was with those who had suffered from their extortions. In dignity He was all royal, but in worldly possessions He had not where to lay His head. And He denounced them as no other shams have been denounced, and they writhed under the whip of his tongue. And they can make no reply. He is not one to be cowed, and He braves them in their own den. And He has too great a following to be openly attacked. They know the power He sways. There is suggestion that the Samaritans, even, had been bewitched by His personality. With all contumely He had purged the Temple of its money-changers and its dealers in sheep and in oxen and in doves. He represents too large a body of opinion in antagonism to the city element to be lightly challenged. The nation is radically divided. And now at this Passover feast there is influx by their thousands of those thronging in from the country and neighbouring villages, largely the puritan element which, through the ages, have made the Jew a power in the world. And it is their hosannas reach the priestly ears to magnify their fears and inflame them with wrath. But there is also the resident faction, and they never love their brother of the open lands too well. And opportunity offers; treachery is to serve them well, and they are to seize their prey with safety. He knows His danger, but He is of a family ever reckless when honour calls, and He disdains precautions. And another mob—a city mob—and crucify Him is to be the cry of the morrow. Meantime hosannas fill them with dismay. His death is imperative. And captured: to risk his delivery is unthinkable. Of themselves their power is insufficient to cope with Him and His screaming mob—the curs, how they hate them; and curs to bite as well as snarl! Rome must be brought in or He yet will escape their toils. And events must be rushed through. Maybe, as told, they are crowded overmuch in less than twenty-four hours, but a moment's delay and they are in a shiver of nervous anxiety. And Pilate must

be their tool. He is not in too good odour with his betters, and is squeezable. He proves subservient, and is party to the hideous crime of the judicial murder of a man whom he knows to be innocent. Thus the end comes and their victim is destroyed. And significant of finales:

"And Pilate wrote a title, and put it on the cross. And the writing was JESUS OF NAZARETH, KING OF THE JEWS.

"This title then read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin.

"Then said the chief priests of the Jews to Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews, but that He said I am King of the Jews.

"Pilate answered, What I have written I have written."*

57. Thus we reach the tragic end. Grant tradition alone, details may be inconclusive, but the masses are written in fire. Pilate has no doubt as to the standing of Christ. It is more than possible that politically it pleased him that His own people should murder Him. With Herod he also may well have feared any leader the nation might rally round. And this Jesus of Galilee, of Galilee ever in a ferment, was evidently of tremendous power and personal magnetism; He drew all men to Him; they heard Him gladly, and He was undoubted scion of a great stock. The very extravagance of His enemies' animosity put this beyond doubt. We see the point of view of Pilate. Maybe for the time being this Christ was in no hostility to Rome: but He was of the stuff that carried through successful revolutions. He was as well out of the way. Also it was as well His followers should be in no doubt in the matter. And the resulting incidents were all such as would stir the popular imagination and remain as memories when many a more formal record might pass away or be lost. But the results hardly answer the expectations of Pilate. The "cause" again falls

* John xix. 19-22.

into the hands of the "wild men," the fanatics, the irreconcilables. And they have yet another wrong to add to those they have in reckoning against Rome. Rome has murdered their leader, their king. Their leader who was faithful in His allegiance to her; their King, who respected her authority and honoured her rule. And she had murdered Him with every ignominy, crucified Him between two thieves. Yes, their leader, whose mission was to teach peace and goodwill, and whose heart was overflowing with love for all the distracted sons of earth. A leader whose every hour was spent in the service of His "Father" and the uplifting of His fellow men. And murdered as a criminal! Murdered that His pitiless enemies might satisfy their lust of hate and indulge their loathsome superstitions. A priestly consciousness still had lingering confidence in human sacrifice. Now Caiaphas was he, which gave counsel to the Jews, that it was expedient that one man should die for the people.* And Rome was party to their venom. And this the reward of fidelity to Rome.

And their emissaries are in every city of the empire, to stir up enmity against Rome. And the story of this foul deed is echoed throughout the world. Where better text for propaganda? In life Christ had been an asset to this party: in death He is a mighty power. Both in His church-to-be, amongst those in more direct spiritual relationship with Him, there was great accession of numbers, and on the political side the party from now so increased that they soon became the dominant power of the nation. Maybe His teaching was not altogether that of this fierce brotherhood; but they knew a common Lord. Here, if there is one undoubted historical fact, it is that from henceforth this terrible band, alike with the more peaceful enthusiasts of days to come, are to be known as Christians throughout the length and breadth of the pagan world.

But storm clouds are gathering. The present is

* John xviii. 14.

with the irreconcilables. Peace is to sink into the background. Horrors are again to overwhelm society. The man of war is the man of the times. But in the homeland of their Master there are those of His elect, His intimates, and His disciples, who still sorrow that He is gone, still weep that He suffered, still cherish His words, still make note of His sayings and dwell on His memory, and who are to preserve the records of a teaching that is to transform a world. Jerusalem destroyed, the Jewish world in hideous ruin, it is to come into its kingdom. But meantime it is seed buried in the hearts of a faithful few, and the harvesting is not yet to hand. The story of such teaching is to be the story of another period in the history of man.

58. We now come to the reign of the madman Caligula. The spark is to be fired to explode the mine, and passions in uneasy slumber at best are to be aroused, never again to be even partially laid. This time the trouble originated in Alexandria. There the Jews were so favoured as even to have their own Ethnarch. This resulted in the natural hate and envy of their fellow citizens. With the Greeks in particular they were in bitter enmity, and these gladly brought charges against them that they were disloyal to the Emperor. Whilst all others paid him due honours they even refused to have his statue erected. A deputation of three or four Jews hastened to Rome to meet the charge. Amongst them was the celebrated philosopher Philo,* whose conception of the "Logos"

* Is it too wild a speculation to think that Christ, a child in Egypt, a royal child, the hope of his race, found in this self-same Philo the teacher or companion of his early years? In Watkins' Biographical Dictionary of 1822, before the subject became acutely controversial, we have as follows:—"PHILO—JUDÆUS, a Greek writer of Alexandria, who was sent by the Jews of that city on an embassy to Rome to plead their cause against Apion about the year 42. He went a second time to Rome in the reign of Claudius, and while there is said to have turned Christian. Philo was so great an admirer of Plato as to neglect the Jewish rites and customs.

so closely approximated to that of the Christian Church. But he was to receive no hearing, and in fury the emperor would have nothing of his reply. Hitherto, as we have seen, the longheaded statesmen both of Rome and Jerusalem, mutually prized the well-trying friendship between them, and the first serious break in this policy of the central authority, as distinguished from accidental incidents, is now when Caligula, in his lunacy, would be worshipped as a god throughout the empire. Following up his resentment against the Jews of Alexandria, he would have a colossal statue of himself erected in their temple at Jerusalem, and in its very Holy of Holies, and there be paid divine honours. His command served but one purpose—to unite the Jewish world in horror at the command. In Jerusalem itself it was met with one blank stare of unqualified amazement and refusal. Destroy them he might, but erect his statue and pay him divine honours they absolutely refused. It gave further tremendous impulse to the Judas party—against the Roman rule in its entirety—and easily established their pre-eminence in the city. And still further they increase their activities, and in every city in the empire their fiery emissaries have hearing, until, in his frenzy the governors of the provinces saw serious manace to their very rule. And Petronius, who had been commissioned by the Emperor to carry out his orders, staggered by the terrific upheaval the very announcement of them caused, paused before destroying a whole people. Instead, writing home particulars, he waited confirmation of the imperial decree. And now one of the brightest characters in history crosses the scene. The great friend of Caligula was Herod Agrippa. The fact of this intimacy, and what we know of Caligula's youth and earlier days of reign, corroborate the view that it was actual mental derangement

for the doctrines of that philosopher." We may add Philo was of a great Jew family; was brother of the Alabarch and uncle of the Tiberias Alexander who later on is to figure so largely in the misfortunes of his race.

that had overtaken him. But insane or not, Agrippa dared to intercede for his countrymen. He had given the emperor a magnificent entertainment, and he was delighted. "Ask me what you will"—he said in compliment—"and it is yours." It was a terrible moment for Agrippa—to offend the tyrant in his weakest spot, his mad vanity. But true to his blood and true to his faith and kin, he never blenched. He asked for no further provinces, power or treasure, all far more readily granted, but withdrawal of the mandate. And can Caligula have been altogether the horrible thing we know him? We can realize his feelings. He hardly tried to hide them, but—he kept his word. And more, neither did he bear Agrippa ill-will for his request. Altogether it was a pleasing incident on a background only too black, and the Jews had reason to be proud of their great champion. It is incidents such as these that tell a race.

And meantime, Petronius. He also is a noble gentleman. It is on him that all the pent-up fury of the humbled emperor is to burst. An example to the world, he should be taught what the anger of a master meant whose orders he had dared to so much as question. And it had gone ill with him, but happily for him and many another, Caligula was assassinated before he had time to wreak his vengeance on him or repent of his magnanimity to the Jews.

59. Caligula dead; Rome in a ferment; the senate hating all emperors; for that reason the people desiring them; the army divided; himself in weak health, Claudius was seized by some of the soldiers and led off—to be executed? No; to be offered the empire. In his confusion and the general confusion, Agrippa was the only one to accurately and calmly weigh up the situation as a whole. Claudius was his friend, and he convinced him that there was no safety for one who had refused the purple, and that life as well as honour lay in accepting the dignity offered.

He proved correct, and Claudius became emperor. And in power his first acts were to lay the storm raised

by Caligula, and restore good relations with the Jews. He gave to Agrippa all the kingdom over which his grandfather Herod had ruled in Judea and Samaria, and then sent letters to every part of his dominions telling how the Jews were friends of the empire, and that their privileges, especially as concerned the worship of their God, were in no way to be curtailed. To Alexandria he sent a specially gracious note, in which he dealt with the late trouble, and confirmed them in their right to their own chief magistrate or Ethnarch.

And added to the general letter is a kind of post-script which is highly illuminating:

"And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstitions and observances of other nations, but to use their own laws only."

And the widest publicity was to be given to his orders. "And I will that this decree of mine be engraven on tables and . . . exposed to the public for full thirty days, in such places where it may be plainly read from the ground."

And did the Jews heed his caution? Their fortunes at this time are steadily progressing, as we judge by the accidental touches of history which tell so much. Are they correspondingly growing in humility? or in arrogance and pride of race?

There are street disturbances in Caesarea between them and its Syrian Greek population. Formerly as Strato's Tower, it had been solely their city—not one Jew in it, as they alleged. Now under pretext that it had been rebuilt by Herod the Great, and that he was by birth a Jew, we see them demanding pre-eminence, "depending on their wealth." And everywhere we meet them, objects of furious jealousy, the meed of the fortunate, not the despised. And maybe jealousy was quickened by hate. In the days of Nehemiah we view them as money-lenders, and grievous even to their brethren. When, if ever, did they give up this lucrative business? Half the massacres they have suffered in our days have been due to this same cause. Was

it the reason for the wild, fierce, raving detestation of the pagan in those old days as well? Certainly the books of their faith would not tend to add to their popularity. They simply glory in their original seizure of a fertile country, rich with pasture-land, vineyards, and olive-yards, overflowing with milk and honey, together with populous cities and numerous villages, as well as in the horrible cruelty with which they butchered their innocent inhabitants, poor creatures who had done them no harm, and whose one fault was that their country was desirable and they wished to possess it. That their God had given them the land on account of their wickedness was but the vile excuse made by every vile band of cutthroats in every age, and only added insulting reasons for most horrible practices. So the account would read by those who fancied themselves to be descendants of those dispossessed aboriginals; so to the "Gnostics," one of the earliest of the Christian sects. And thus it was with the Germans. Their God had given them all our colonies and land and commerce to possess and enjoy, because they were supermen and we were a decadent race. But it did not strike us exactly in the same light. Nor did it happen that we were decadent; nor did it turn out that they were supermen. But undoubtedly in these old Jews was a strain of the superman. So probably, as a matter of fact, they became possessed of the land exactly as every land has been become possessed of as the ages have run their course. The great trouble of nature is the ever-full cradle of some virile race. Many the wars that have been forced on unhappy neighbours, all anxious for peace, by a strong people with an overflowing population. And more than an hundred million Germans ring-fenced in Central Europe is a crater liable at any moment to again become an active, raging volcano.

And at this time, as Josephus tells us, we find the Jew excelling his ever-hated enemy, the Greek, not only in wealth, but in strength of body, as well as sharing with him the intellectual supremacy of the

world. The Greek, supreme in all else, in his religious books had easily to give him place. And the Roman respected the Jew as he did not the Greek, for he was fiercest of fighters. As Josephus more or less laments, and their history bears out, "The Jews are men that despise dangers and are ready to fight upon any occasion." Greek thought was great thought, but he is now the master mind of the ancient world. And we see his fortunes reflected in the respect his religion commanded. The passage from Zechariah which we have quoted was no overdrawn picture. And now men of every nation and language were with the Jew, saying, "We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you." So, amongst their women, the new faith was getting hold. Later on, when every man's hand was against the Jew, and the people of Damascus also rose to destroy them, they had to proceed secretly because of their wives and daughters who had become converts to their teaching. Then, as now, there was much in the glorious writings of their holy book; in the stern, pure doctrine that it taught, to appeal to the serious in every home and every land. And backed by worldly success, but one thing alone hindered its almost general acceptance—and that was their insistence on circumcision as an all-important rite. Observance of the law would have proved but little hindrance. Even their Sabbath would have been no serious obstacle. It had long been current amongst other nations such as the Babylonians and Assyrians. But why, asked would-be proselytes, why insistence on abandonment of nationality as well? But inexorable attitude. The Jew's religion was for Jew alone. And men hesitated to make the great surrender, and hated instead. Hated, but never despised. For where in all the world was wonderful book like theirs? Pre-eminently "the book," as if there had been no other the wide world over. Where sibyl or oracle with scriptures such as these? Where prophets with the wondrous roll of their verse, the amazing grandeur of their vision, the tremendous splendour of their

imagery? Where hymn of Greek like those of the master singer of Zion? And with the Greek they had made the great God of all their subject and inspiration, and it was their God, and not the Greek god that had captured the mind of the world. As an abstraction the educated Persian, Greek, Egyptian, and Jew alike knew one great principle of the universe; but the Jew alone realized a Deity who, in His attributes, was not unworthy of the tremendous original. With science, our ideas of the universe have extended their horizon, and the world for us is no longer its hub—our once modest conception of our own importance; nor have the sun and moon and stars been created for our sole delight. Over all we know of a ruling Deity infinite beyond all power of words to tell, and yet it is in these wondrous old writings of the Jews we alone find a notion of that mighty First Cause, which is not wholly out of tune with the infinite majesty we know to be His. Jupiter, Anu, Fate, The Great Unknown—we pass them in review. They fail to appeal to our intelligence or imagination, but in the Jehovah of the prophets we have a conception that is not wholly vain. God is not simply fate, God is not simply an abstraction, God is not merely supreme amongst gods, but God has a personality and individuality alone found in these wondrous works. And so their God appealed to the ancient world.

But notwithstanding all the magnificent breadth of its utterance, never was more exclusive religion. And thus it was whenever they were in trouble every neighbouring kingdom or tribe found an unholy joy in their affliction. Whether this was peculiar spite to them, or the attitude of the then world to every other people in distress, we have not the materials to determine. We know the pack of wolves: let one be sickly or wounded, and immediately the rest turn on it to rend and devour it; and this may have ruled generally in those days. At the same time the conditions we have enumerated may have engendered

exceptional hate and jealousy with a fiercer gloating over them when in trouble than was usual, or after all it may be that we only know more of their case because they had historians to record it. But the terrible fact for them is, that from now on their sufferings are to accumulate and are only to end with the destruction of all dear to them—their privileges, their city, their temple, their liberty, and their lives.

CHAPTER XIX.

BEGINNING OF THE END.

¶ 60. AT best, under Claudius but an uneasy peace prevailed. The people were in that temper that the smallest incident was enough to set the whole country in a blaze. Nor were their neighbours better disposed towards them. Agrippa had been a just and generous king, not only to his own people, but to other races under his rule. But once dead, it was enough for the Greeks of Caesarea that he was a Jew, and heaping indignity on his memory, they carried the statues of his daughters to the brothels that there in effigy they might be abused. Agrippa, his son, was too young to succeed him, and Claudius kept him with him for the time, and sent Fadus as governor in his stead. Fadus soon had his hands full with the numerous fanatics who made life a terror, and with the quarrelsome doings between the Jews of Perea and the Philadelphians, and a dispute with himself as to the custody of the holy vestments, of immense richness, of the high priest. This latter was made subject of a petition to Claudius, who gave them to the care of the Jews themselves. Then there was a terrible famine, relieved by Helena, Queen of Adiabane, who had become a convert to Judaism. So also one Theudas, posing as a prophet, probably one of the false Messiahs referred to in the gospels, possibly

claiming to be reincarnation of Christ Himself, deluded the people in great numbers, and was only suppressed with considerable difficulty. This was between the years 44 and 46, and certainly Fadus could not complain of having had a dull time. Hitherto we have seen Rome more than indulgent, and he was succeeded by their own countrymen, Tiberius Alexander, who was the son of the alabarch of Alexandria, the chief man amongst his contemporaries. He was a stern and resolute governor, and, power in his hands, he used it fiercely. Insubordination he put down with a strong hand. Again we see the party of Judas to the fore. For the moment their star is in decline. He destroys them without mercy. He captured his two sons, Simon and James, and remorselessly crucified them. Tradition has frequently confounded them with the apostles of these names. It is more than possible the tradition is founded in fact. Our Lord may well have called them as His apostles when they were young men, and this would make them between forty and fifty at this time. Change of conditions may well have once more found them leaders in the risings against Rome. And the very murder of their Master may have inflamed their zeal.* And Tiberias Alexander goes out of his way to execute them with

* We must not forget that they were members of one of the fiercest races the world has known, nor is there evidence of their having been particularly mild mannered themselves. Peter was quick with his sword; James and his brother were "sons of thunder"; and Simon the Canaanite was distinguished as Zealotes, or the Zealot. Even Christ Himself we do not see always conciliatory. "Ye are of your father, the devil," marked his displeasure when attacked by the Pharisees. So the dates are a little remarkable. In the *Bible Handbook* we find that under A.D. 44 is given: "Martyrdom of James, the son of Zebedee. Imprisonment of Peter: his miraculous deliverance and departure from Jerusalem." Then for the previous year we find that the fugitives from Jerusalem who then found refuge in Antioch were there first known as "Christians." It hardly seems likely that the first disciples were hunted down and proscribed by Agrippa, Fadus, and Alexander for their pacific teaching.

ferocity. Priestly rancour against this house is by no means lessening in intensity. Their brother, another son of Judas, alone escaped him, and later on he was to take a leading part in the final rising against Rome. However, Alexander was too valuable to Rome to be left in Judea, and he was soon recalled to be made governor of Egypt, including rule over his countrymen in Alexandria. Here, again, we shall see him the strong man. A theatre disturbance between them and the Greeks developed into a terrible tumult. In this the Jews had the upper hand. He implored them to be pacified. Such malignity would infallibly necessitate the intervention of Roman troops. They were not to be so cajoled, and he ordered the army to suppress them. Obedience he would have. Resistance followed, and a terrible massacre was the result. So soon we are to see him, first in command of the Roman troops when they take Jerusalem, as also the first to proclaim Vespasian emperor.

In Judea he was succeeded by Cumanus. His term of office was at once enlivened by a wild tumult at the feast of the Passover. There was a great concourse of Jews in the city for its celebration, when one of the Roman soldiers made an obscene and insulting gesture in their derision. After the death of some twenty thousand people it was finally composed by the execution of the soldier, the original cause, by Cumanus. This was followed by a violent quarrel between them and the Samaritans. The Galileans were wont to come up to Jerusalem to the various great festivals. This involved passing through Samaria. On his way there one was killed by the Samaritans. Furiously the Jews demanded justice to be done by Cumanus. He was slower to act than pleased them, when some of the younger and wilder spirits, raging and brooking no delay, took the matter into their own hands, invaded Samaria, burnt its villages, and killed its people, respecting neither sex nor age. Accusations and counter-accusations were brought before Claudius. He decided in favour of the Jews. He regarded the Samaritans

as authors of the trouble, and ordered three of their principal citizens to be executed as punishment. Cumanus also he deposed for not having done prompt justice. Some of his minor agents he also delivered over to the Jews, for them to torment and punish after their own laws. Still, we see Rome favourable to this people. From A.D. 51 to A.D. 60 Felix was next procurator. During his time the affairs of the Jews "grew worse and worse continually." The country was again filled with "robbers" and "impostors," who "deluded the multitude." Eleazar, the arch robber, Felix captured and sent to Rome for judgment, obvious tribute to his importance, but his followers, a multitude not to be enumerated, he crucified. The country purged of these, some of the Judas party, now took up the extreme position that any not with them were against them, and an enemy to his God and his country. For such they knew no mercy, and they regarded it as a worthy act to exterminate them. Here, then, genesis of the dreaded sicarii who knew no moderation whatever and became terrible assassins. One of their victims was Jonathan, the High Priest, who was murdered, as some believed, with the cognizance of the governor himself. Thus to some extent winked at, and further a secret organization, they terrorized the whole body of citizens. In addition, there arose a further number of wild enthusiasts, who professed to be inspired, and who, exhibiting signs and wonders, also led away the people. These also were for Felix to stamp out. Probably the most serious of these risings was that of a false prophet from Egypt, who led as many as thirty thousand followers to the Mount of Olives, and who were only dispersed after a fierce battle had been fought. On all hands we see the old argument of the Judas faction being appealed to, and now being enforced, but with double intensity, viz. that subjection to Rome was but slavery, and that all those who accepted it were worthy of death. And the party itself, immeasurably reinforced and assisted by the state of the country,

divided themselves into different bodies, lay in wait up and down the country, plundered the great men, and set the villages on fire, "until all Judea was filled with the effects of their madness. Thus the flame of revolt was more and more blown up until it came to direct war." Thus Josephus; but other causes were also at work making breach inevitable.

61. We are now on the eve of the break-up of civilization. In Judea the general ruin which is to overwhelm society is accelerated by an ever-increasing defiance of authority, until anarchy reigns supreme. And silhouetted on the background of its relations with the Jews, we see the Roman Empire for what it really was. A despotism above all, it reflected the despot who for the time being was supreme. A wise emperor, careful in his choice of ministers, and every minister in fear of appeal to his final decision, it had much to commend it. But an evil chief magistrate, selling posts to the highest bidder, choosing favourites and creatures for every office, and these in turn, fearing no control, rapacity and cruelty itself—and a world groaned under its tyranny. And one decade of abuse could occasion such misery and wrong as five of the best administration could not undo. Many a fair province it found a garden and left a desert, and when it expired it was amidst the ruins of a lost world. And in Judea in particular, given emperors who were partial, and the dominion of Rome was just tolerable. But a Caligula in the purple—and conditions which made a Caligula possible boded ill for mankind—and catastrophe was matter of time alone. Other people simply went under. The Jew succumbs, but like a maddened cat at bay with its tormentors.

Claudius dead, his second wife secured the empire for her own son, Nero, consolidating his rule by murder of the true heir. For a time under him affairs in Judea continue much as before. Felix remains governor, and is followed by Festus. Two appeals come before Nero, and we see him trying to be just. In one Agrippa the younger was involved. He had built a

room overlooking the Temple. The priests had rejoined by building a wall shielding it from observation. Festus in turn ordered it to be pulled down, and Nero reversed his ruling. In the other, the never-ceasing disturbances in Caesarea were the cause. Nero decided against the Jews; it was not their city, and he withdrew their privileges. This was almost the first serious rebuff they had met with in their appeals to Caesar; and—much after *Punch's* celebrated cartoon, "Call this arbitration? He's given agin us"—they would not be pacified. But the fact is, the basic reason for their perpetual commotions was their being in subjection to any foreign domination whatever. They saw themselves the first race in the world. As fighters Rome did not excel them, and in intellectual attainments the Greek even was no longer their rival. And really their pretensions seem justified. It is at this time we find their holy books, and books like *Ecclesiasticus*, being edited and revised and given that matchless beauty which has made them the heritage of the world. But now fuel in abundance is to be added to the fire of their discontent. We see the Roman system at its worst. With no particular antipathy to them, Nero appoints as procurator Albinus, who even leagued himself with the marauders to share the plunder, and who would have appeared the limit of wickedness but for the indescribable rapacity, cruelty, and duplicity of his successor, Florus. He, as Josephus tells us, having abused his power to the utmost with fiendish ingenuity, then excelled himself in infamy. He crucified and flogged their principal men—men with the standing of a Roman citizen—and indulged in every other act of tyranny with the deliberate design of driving the people to revolt. Thus he would cover up his traces and prevent any appeal to Rome, and elude inquiry into his past. The Rome party met such devices by urging the people to patience. But in vain. The game was now in the hands of the irreconcilables. So far from accepting pacification they, on their side, fanned a blazing flame. Nor did they limit their

activities to their own land. Not a city in the world but rang with the wrongs inflicted on the Jews. The Jewish world was in a ferment. In some cities the prudent controlled the turbulent; such was Antioch; but in others again the turmoil almost rivalled that in Judea itself. No longer favoured by Rome, and every enemy—and they had many—hastened to gratify an outstanding spite of years; so that there were few countries where there was not a Jew population with some grievance of its own to resent and avenge. These were harvests ripe to the sickle for these followers of Judas—pestilent fellows, who set the world in an uproar. And in the story of the times that has come down to us confusion exists between them and their fellow Christians as we now know them. In spiritual outlook they may have altered, but in all else they were one. These fiery zealots to the Greek and Roman world were followers of a Christ of whose murder they were ever telling. Maybe one saw his service in the fury of war, the other sought light in his teaching itself. Time was to see a change in the relative weight of sentiment, but at this period it is this implacable school that takes and holds the stage. And against these Christians the Romans waged remorseless war. And the underlying hate and antipathy was mutual.

62. And now we are to see the Jews of Canaan in battle array against the Romans. Florus has succeeded and driven them to revolt. Had it been an organized rising of the Jews all over the world; or had it not been for the universal hate borne them in every land, this war had shaken the empire to its very foundations. At enmity with Rome, and massacres of their race were general. Naturally the Greeks at Caesarea led the way, and they murdered some twenty thousand Jews in an hour's time. They literally emptied the city of its Jewish inhabitants. To this the Jews replied with a fiery crusade, laying waste the villages and country of the Syrians, Greeks in sympathy, and who in turn equalized by mobbing and murdering every

helpless Jew settled in their cities. And their natural hate was quickened by envy of their riches and desire of gain. And to their fellows it was a pleasing measure of their patriotism, the amount of plunder they secured. It was common to see cities filled with their unburied dead—old men mixed with infants, all stripped, and women also amongst them, and no covering for their nakedness. At Scythopolis, feeling not being so high, the Syrians were able to delude the Jews into a sense of security, when they fell upon them and cut the throats of as many as thirteen thousand. Similarly at Askelon they slew two thousand Jews; and at Ptolemais two thousand. In Tyre and Sidon many also were slain, and many put in bonds, as also in many another Phoenician city. A notable exception, almost alone, was Antioch, one of the three great centres of the empire. This we remember was the capital of the one time kingdom of the Syrian Greeks, and here the races lived together in comparative amity. Also, about this time, there was the terrible slaughter of the Jews in Damascus, the natives there being in a difficulty how to carry out their plans because of the love of their women folk for the Jews' religion; as well as that terrible strife in Alexandria to which we have also referred, which was so sternly suppressed by their own countrymen, Tiberius Alexander. And in this city it is we get a glimpse of this terrible fourth party, this Judas party, one of those unwitting tributes to them that flit across the narrative of Josephus. We are in Alexandria. It is a little later than the events we are now recording, and things have gone badly with them both here and in Judea. We remember when Onias III. was High Priest and murdered by Menelaus in the first days of the Hellenist popularity, how his son escaped to Egypt and at Heliopolis built another temple in which to serve his God. Till now it had existed, but it is not long to survive the fate of its great original in Jerusalem. It is also to be destroyed as centre of faction and disloyalty to the empire. We have seen

how Alexandria was in a state of turmoil—turmoil ever fomented by the missionaries of these extremists. It was no part of their policy to limit their energies, but in every city and in every land they still sought to stir up the race against Rome. Not that they were made universally welcome by their brethren. Far from it. There was many a Jew above all anxious to live in peace with all men; to stand well with the powers that be; a Hezekiah to give thanks if only there might be peace in his time. But such luke-warmness only roused their anger and fired them to greater zeal, and they as much defied the Roman abroad as at home. And he on his part as remorselessly tracked them to earth, hunted them down, and flogged and crucified them; and his policy ever to do so. And they made it their religion—the one to kill, the other to die. David and his line denied them, and their creed was crystalized into the fewest of words: "No king but God." His rejoinder was as short and explicit: "Caesar is master." And Caesar acknowledged, and it was life and liberty; defied, death in torment. All most simple, brief, and to the point on both sides. For or against. A little incense thrown on the altar in acknowledgment, and they left the judgment hall free men. But that incense was never burnt—not by them. "For"—as Josephus tells us—"those that fled . . . were caught . . . whose courage, or whether we ought to call it madness or hardness, in their opinions everybody was amazed at: for when all sorts of torments and vexations of their bodies that could be devised were made use of to them they could not get any one of them to comply so far as to confess or seem to confess that Caesar was their lord. But they preserved their own opinion in spite of all the distress they were brought to, as if they received these torments and the fire itself with bodies insensible to pain and with a soul that in a manner rejoiced under them. And what was most of all astonishing to the beholders was the courage of the children, for not one of these children was so far

overcome by these torments as to name Caesar for their lord. So far does the strength and courage of the soul prevail over the weakness of the body." And thus these first Christians, as in all majesty they take the stage. For the moment it is not the ideal of the great Master that sways their lives. Their acceptance of it is to come, and with it many another change, but in spirit they will be one to the end. In these mad extremists of Josephus we have an example of noble passive endurance that is to remake a world. In this existence there are things of higher value than life itself. And this is the lesson they have taught, the message they have delivered to an enslaved world.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ETHICAL IDEAL IN DEVELOPMENT.

¶ 63. HERE again we note the more important dates:

A.D.

62. *Albinus made procurator.*

63. *Josephus, aged 26 visits Rome.*

64. *Completion of the Temple, burning of Rome. Florus succeeds Albinus. His excessive tyranny. Agrippa's intervention. Sicarii take possession.*

66. *Eleazar, son of the High Priest Ananias, a bold youth, stops sacrifice for Caesar. Manahem, son of Judas, leads revolt, assumes royal dignity, is killed by above Eleazar, and Eleazar his kinsman leads at Massada. Massacre of 20,000 Jews in Caesarea in an hour. General massacre in Syrian cities of all*

Jews. Also Alexandria filled with Jew dead.

Cestius overruns Zebulun, the "City of Men," etc. Syrians massacre 2,000 Jews.

Cestius besieges Jerusalem; is defeated.

Massacre of Jews in Damascus.

Josephus made a general. Also Eleazar, son of High Priest. (Apparently Zealots ignored.)

Rise of John of Gishgala, at first a nominee of Josephus. Also of Simon of Gioras, an extremist.

67. Appointment of Vespasian.

Jews besiege Ascalon, but bloodily repulsed. Vespasian reaches Antioch. Joined by Agrippa and peoples anxious to be well with Rome.

68. Titus joins his father.

Vespasian invests Gadara and Jotapa. This taken after long siege, betrayed by deserter. Samaritans resist Romans.

Surrender of Josephus.

Suicide of Nero.

69. Taking of Joppa, Tiberias, etc.

Fall of Gamala and Gischala. John escapes to Jerusalem. Panic in Jerusalem.

John will have no peace. Prudent make lamentation. Influx of outside Jews, mostly for war. Wild dissensions between Zealots and priest party, mostly for peace.

Idumaeans called in to help by Zealots.

Leads to further dissensions.

Wild factions in the city.

Taking of Gadara, rich and strong.

Galba, successor to Nero, dies after reign of 7½ months.

Otho and Vitellius follow him.

Simon quarrels with John.

Wild scenes in Rome also; filled with

foreign legions who would plunder her.

The army elects Vespasian emperor.

Writes to Tiberias Alexander for his support in Egypt.

Josephus having prophesied he would be emperor, is released.

In Rome also army elect Vespasian. He goes to Egypt. Titus continues siege.

70. Siege of Jerusalem by Titus. September is taken. Siege and capture of Massada.

64. And marking the story of the Jew, how certainly it brings out in lurid contrast the two great driving forces of human nature. Running through their history, a thread of gold, is the stern puritan determination that God, i.e. that principle, is all in all, and by it life itself is of no moment. In the passing of the centuries it takes many forms. Now it is antagonism to a wild emotionalism, finding expression in the worship of strange gods; now again it is a passion for liberty, symbolized in worship of no king but God alone. And in array against it the other side of human nature, a nature ever the same though Protean in its disguises and manifestations. Ever a fair word for all that is desirable or profitable; now it is a plain, naked worship of the passions; now it is seduced by the art and glory of the Greek; now it is joy in a dalliance and amorous toying with life; and yet again it is a surrender of its manhood in a not very base subjection to Rome. And in the final struggle these two tremendous passions are seen in clash in fullest development. The Herods, the Agrippas, with Felix and Festus, had seen the days of a just tolerated compromise; Albinus and Florus divide them into two bitterly antagonistic camps. Rights and wrongs are on both sides; reason and unreason; but the blind fury of the one had proved better guide than the calculating prudence of the other. The Rome party have on their side the priestly hierarchy with the executive and the historian Josephus. He was born in the same year (A.D. 37) that Caligula became em-

peror, and was of highest birth. His father, Matthias, was born in the tenth year of the rule of Archelaus, and belonged to the first of the twenty-four orders of the priesthood. Of this he was essentially proud. Nobility, amongst various people, is of different origin, he says; but with them the sacerdotal dignity was indication of the splendour of a family. But for all that he was further proud of his mother being of the family of the Maccabees, and therefore of royal blood. As a young man from sixteen to nineteen he had been an enthusiast and ascetic. He then became a Pharisee, with which sect he remained identified until the end. At twenty-six, in the year A.D. 63, he went to Rome, and there realized her enormous power. This convinced him their policy was to put her friendship before all other considerations. Having regard to how her empire developed, how far this was feasible is somewhat questionable, i.e. unless the Jews, like other people, were prepared to submit in patience to any governor, however unjust or tyrannical. Somehow we do not see them exactly that sort of tame beast. And whilst pride of birth divided him from opponents with pride of birth as great—a sadder and deeper rift made them utterly incomprehensible the one to the other. With the one life was nothing to honour; to the other honour was an unknown idea. It is his own account we alone take. By virtue of his position he was made general of the army, much as Essex was of the Commonwealth. And then came the supreme moment when there was nothing for him but surrender or voluntarily to meet his fate. To fall alive into the hands of the foe, shame for a private, was unheard infamy for a chief officer. And he hesitated, and in amazement his companions first argued and then in passionate indignation drew their own swords upon him. He was as in a cage with enraged beasts. But his discretion did not desert him. Seeming to be convinced, he suggested they should cast lots—he also drawing with them—and that in succession they should kill one another. And it

was so agreed. And then by chance or providence—he plumed himself on being a master of cunning devices—he and one other remained to the last. Why carry the matter further? he asked, and they delivered themselves up to the enemy. And it is his pride how considerate, magnanimous, and generous that enemy was to him. He became the friend of Vespasian, very brother to Titus. And could he enter into the heart of men whose one joy was that the end at last was come? To them, whatever the outcome, it was as intended, and for the best. Victory, all is well; death, all equally well. But submission? Never to human master. And now, as their accepted leader, we see to the fore Manahem, the son of Judas. And success attends his arms. Not far from Jerusalem, in the wild country south of the Dead Sea, was the impregnable stronghold Masada. It was a fortress built by the kings for their sepulchre, and also for a place of refuge in times of danger. And this was in his hands. And here he had an arsenal fully stored from which he was able to effectively arm his followers and try conclusions with the Roman forces in Jerusalem itself. And in this he was wholly successful, and his followers acclaim him king, and he assumes the royal dignity. Will his people now unite with him, and, knowing what we now know, knowing of the discord that is to distract the Roman empire in its very heart, we ask will his race rally round him, and the day is won. But his defeat had brought more joy to the despondents. And Josephus—he of the lineage of Aaron—he of the first of the four-and-twenty tribes of the Levites—he to accept this pretentious unknown as leader? Better slavery to Rome, a thousand times. And the priesthood? How it hates this family and these men. These have no great veneration for their order, and it is to grow less. In derision we are to see them openly—secretly it had often been so disposed of—openly selling by auction even the office of high priest itself, or in disdain casting lots for it, not caring to whom it might fall. They had in contempt all things priestly.

"Had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains"—he writes—"the city would have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them . . . or else been destroyed . . . as Sodom; for it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than were those that suffered such punishments." But stay, Mr. Historian, in your eloquence. Is it not some such atheists whom you have just shown us dying—dying in torment—sooner than deny their God, their king? True, they have taken the holy things of the temple, its dishes of gold, its caldrons, its table, its pouring vessels; true they have turned into the iron of war the precious metals of the service; and, above all, true they have in contempt and loathing you and your twenty-four orders of priesthood; for you have trafficked with the enemy, you have compromised with the great verities of existence.

At first there had been some small promise of alliance between them. Eleazar, son of the High Priest Ananias, had been one of the first to revolt against Rome. He had refused to continue the sacrifice for the emperor, and for briefest of periods had welcomed Manahem as a fellow patriot. But priestly disdain proved too powerful, and when Manahem in the pride of victory and popularity calmly, and as of right, assumed the crown, it was more than their pride could stomach. Scuffles took place between them and Ananias was killed. Then, fortune favouring him, Eleazar seized him treacherously when he was going in pomp to the temple to worship. And a captive? Mercy was not for him. He had been acclaimed their king. He their king? and the very question sharpens the arrows of their priestly wit as they heap indignities upon him. He their king? and we recall a scene as terrible, and he expires in lingering torments. It is a great triumph. The power of the Judas family is seriously broken. His kinsman, another Eleazar, retains Masada to there maintain himself to the end, but otherwise is to make no great figure in the carrying on of the war. Yes, the death of Manahem

was a great triumph for the priests and the despondents and the hopeless generally. And more, it was to prove that in their prognostications they were right, and that war with Rome was the depth of folly. The murder of Manahem was the death-knell of success.

65. We are nearing the end. Success is still to follow their arms against the Romans in the city. Then Cestius, in command of the legions at Antioch, is besought to interfere, which he does, and comes in force to besiege Jerusalem. It is beyond his powers, and rebuffed in his attempt, he retires. This virtual defeat now makes war inevitable. The moderates, as Josephus terms them, are exceedingly sad, and make loud lamentations, but the war party and the determined exult exceedingly. And in the palace at Rome consternation reigns. Troubles have been brewing. In our own little islands we find signs of rising disaffection. In A.D. 61 the king of the Iceni, a Norfolk people, died. Like the Jews, in a small way, he had not been conquered, but had become a dependent of the Roman as an ally. In his will he left his inheritance to the emperor and his daughters jointly, hoping that thus he might secure them some share. But about this period a general greed and rapacity seems to have marked the servants of the empire. Here was no exception, and his wishes were ignored. Then, when complaints followed they scourged his widow, Boadicea, outraged his daughters, and were guilty of gross extortion. A most terrible rising, headed by this warrior queen was the result, and the Romans only just escaped annihilation. And in the East, in Syria, history is repeating itself, and Nero informed of the ill success of his armies is filled with the gloomiest forebodings, and though he talks big to hide his anxiety, he resolves to take no risks. He selects his greatest general, Vespasian, a Roman of the old school, though of no family, to deal with the rising. He is right. With him the empire itself may tremble. The very bruining of the war has been enough to occasion a rising in Lusitania, and to fan into a ferment the Gauls

of Galatia. In the days of Pyrrhus a marauding body of them, defeated at Delphi, had been driven into Asia Minor, but never to lose their individuality or hate of subjugation. Like a terrier in a rat pit, Rome could deal effectively with any insurgents separately, but what if, in a fatal moment, she paused and they united to rend her? The Jews were not the only fierce warriors to rally when any banner of freedom was unfurled. And Vespasian on his part did not minimize the seriousness of the position. In our epitome of dates we have indicated the story, but the story itself has been too often and too well told to need retelling here. Much of Palestine was in flames, and even the Samaritans, in hate of Rome, forgot their ancient hate of the Jews. We can judge of the seriousness of the position by the time it took to subdue the country and establish lines of communications before attempting the great and final investment of Jerusalem itself.

On the Jews' part the conduct of the war is in the hands of the moderates, with Josephus as leader. A certain amount of energy marks its prosecution, but there is not a doubt that from the beginning they are awaiting the first favourable opportunity to make terms—a state of mind not the best to bring any struggle to a successful issue. Much may be said for their policy, perhaps more for the extremists, who, probably with clearer vision, saw that victory or a degrading submission were the only alternatives. But between them they ensured ruin complete, final, and appalling. And war once forced on the nation by Florus, there should have been no looking back. All differences should have been forgotten, all hatchets buried. For success in war doggedness and ordered rule are the all-essentials. One party had the doggedness, the other the rule. And Manahem dead, and the very lukewarmness of the leaders gave the country up to other fanatics who were never able to command the resources of the nation as a whole.

And solid and combined, there is not a doubt their chances of a favourable end were far from black.

Rome was still mighty, but Rome was in the throes of a discord which rivalled that in this doomed city. A succession of weak or wicked emperors had undermined its power at its very source. Tiberias and Claudius at best were but doubtful. Caligula was a madman, and Nero, pursued by conspiracy and in despair at the turn of events, ended his own life. He was succeeded by Galba, who, in a short seven months, was killed in the market-place of Rome by a rival faction. Then came Otho. He was almost immediately challenged by Vitellius, infamous for his gluttony and lust. Fortune is with him, but meantime the soldiers of Vespasian in Syria have arrived at a great conclusion. Stories of these disorders reach the camp, and so black are they that Vespasian and Titus seriously discuss whether they should continue a war far afield when anarchy in the heart of the empire is threatening its very existence. And his soldiers solve the problem. They are tired of these puppets of the fainéant armies in Rome, and they acclaim him emperor. He is getting on in years, and a sense of duty alone leads him to comply. Having decided, he acts with his accustomed energy. He is favourably situated for securing Egypt, if only the good will of its governor, who is still Tiberias Alexander, can be obtained. He writes to him requesting his good offices, and he readily accedes. Then Vespasian, leaving Titus to finish the war and take Jerusalem, follows in person, and Alexander gives him cordial welcome and is the first to officially recognize him as lord of the empire. These great Jews were shrewd judges of men and actualities, and we recollect how Agrippa similarly proved king-maker to Claudius. Egypt secured, if the worst happen Vespasian, like the first Ptolemy, had at least a kingdom which he could make impregnable, whilst fortune smiling and he had a sound basis for operations to ensure success. But the greatness of his renown was more than enough. There was no fidelity, love, or respect for these wretched emperors, only anxiety to be

first to recognize and worship the rising sun. And truly, with this miserable government the hosanna of to-day were the crucify of the morrow. Seized in his cups, dragged from his banquet, Vitellius was first abused and tortured, and then his head was cut off in the midst of the city. And power consolidated in the hands of a great ruler like Vespasian, master and not slave of his army, and Rome was again herself, and in all majesty and power was settled on her seat for some years to come. And the doom of Jerusalem is told in his success. But the crisis had been great.

66. And nothing better illustrates how impossible it is to consider any particular phase of truth apart from its actual setting of facts than the conditions we have in Judea at this time. There has been change of fact, and it instantly would justify a complete change of policy. Rome, abject and ruled by worthless masters, degradation and infamy their portion, and every call of reason, religion, and patriotism demanded the throwing off the yoke. And it would have been done. Vespasian, met by a united resistance, at least had been delayed; delayed, had never been emperor, and a distracted Rome had never regained the Far East. We can thus realize how all intolerable to the true Jewish patriot, with vision of the kingdom of David restored, who thought it foul scorn to be in subjection to any man, was the poltroonery of Josephus and the Rome party generally. His was every possibility of success. And these miserable curs, these fattened dogs of the fable, because they in particular were sleek and well fed, preferred an ignoble dependence to a glorious stand for liberty. Essentially he was the starved hound envying the pampered fatness of its brother until it marked the collar and asked and was told what it meant. And the parallel was ceasing to be true even as to the fatness. These days had gone. The days of skinning had come; the brute having lost its fangs to bite, his master no longer cared to wheedle and pet. All this we gather from the

pages of Josephus himself, for all he uses his utmost art to justify his own attitude and the part which he played. All he shows beyond doubt is that David in his genius for war, and Judas Maccabaeus, through the divisions of his enemies, were able to triumph over odds far more terrible, and that in a united resolution their success had been as sure.

But now there is a transformation scene—a change as sudden and dramatic as any produced by the conjurer's art. Vespasian is emperor. The Roman world is in joy at his election, and once again is solid, unbroken, and all-mighty.

And this great empire offers the hand of friendship to the Jew in a just, honourable, and advantageous peace. War madness and party rancour blind their eyes, and they scorn where at least they should consider. Titus presses the siege of Jerusalem, but not a week passes but he prays and beseeches them to come to an accommodation with him. He is in deadly earnest in not wanting to force matters to extremities. He is a great statesman, his father's power is not yet consolidated, and he knows what the Jew race, friendly, means to the new dynasty. He knows how this rising has shaken the empire to its foundations. He condescends to address them, begging them to come to terms. He recapitulates the history of their relations together. He gives instance after instance of the unwavering friendship shown by Rome in the many days of the past. He reminds them of the very tribute paid to the Temple, two drachmas from every Jew all over the world, which Rome might well have claimed, but never had done. All in vain; and with indignation he resents the arrogance of their replies. They are those of conquerors, he says, of masters, not of the vanquished, of captives to be crucified on the morrow. They are quite willing to be crucified, but they will not argue or be argued with. Begone with your armies, clear out of your entrenchments, raise your siege, and then we may discuss terms of peace. Otherwise, you are the stronger; otherwise,

murder us as you please; otherwise, crucify, torture, or exterminate as you will, but it will be fighting.

And Tiberias Alexander is chief general of Titus, and is as eloquent in beseeching his countrymen to act reasonably. They treat him with added scorn. The wisdom of such accommodation was without doubt. They had every assurance that as in the days of Augustus and of Claudius they would be restored to their original favour. But in this time of frenzy how expect the calm vision that would review the situation *de novo*, and come to terms, however favourable? Blood madness inflames all vision; and the siege was being pressed with ruthless severity. Prisoners were being captured by the thousand, and they endangered the army. And Titus had not soldiers enough to tell off to watch them. Their death best solved the problem, and its horror would dismay those left. He crucified them under the walls of the city. So many were they that wood failed for crosses. Not that it was wasted over them: no cross-piece was used, an upright plank or post alone served every need. The hands nailed to this above the head and the victim thus hanging from it could linger on in torment almost by the day together. Fiends have stitched living birds through their wings and tied them to a pole to fright away their kind, but these human scarecrows—to terrify those soon to be in like case—utterly failed to strike dismay. Better have stabbed them to death in mercy. It only raises to whiter heat a hate that will dare all, suffer all, rather than admit such monsters as their lords.

And Josephus, their once general, is now with the enemy, adviser in his camp. Taken prisoner, he had escaped death on the doubtful commendation that he had invariably been friendly to Rome. More, that he had ever spoken well of Vespasian, and still more, that he had foretold that even the purple would be his. His powers of foretelling events is one of the gifts on which Josephus no little prides himself. His life saved, thrown into custody with disdain; Ves-

pasian become emperor, remembered his predictions, and received him as his friend. And now in the siege Titus enlists his services to persuade his countrymen to come to terms. With the matter of his argument we must entirely agree, but his presence only served to rouse his hearers to a frenzy of fury hardly equalled even in those days. Of all loathsome creatures, to them he was the most offensive. And Titus, anxious for agreement, failed somewhat in knowledge of human nature in using him as mouthpiece. What avails most cogent argument with men in red passion? And if Josephus addressed the people to embarrass the actual fighters, it was a more than doubtful act for one who had once been their general. Maybe, now that his belief in the Romans was justified, but it was an unhappy time in which to make parade of their friendship with himself. On every hand his people were being killed by them; nor could he so address them without being amongst those they were executing with ruthless barbarity. He confesses to one unhappy moment. He came across three of his old friends hanging naked and crucified. After all, they had been taken fighting only for their undoubted right, their natural right, their liberty; and for this they are in unspeakable agony. And now he is delighted that he is in favour with the Romans. He begs their lives. The boon is readily granted, they are taken down, and his physician will alleviate their torment. True, only one survives, but it is worth somewhat to have been able to do so much for a friend. And in that beleagured, tortured city are thousands ever ready, even to eagerness, to hang with such unfortunates, and not one but would spit on the friend who thus brought them deliverance. And this it is that troubles Titus. It is no fair city that will be his, no friendly ally. And his heart goes out to these men. If only they were his to command. But for all this it is Josephus who is right, and it is these same men who are to plunge their people into red ruin and deliver them into the hands of their enemies for many an age that was yet to come.

But it is ever so; ever, alas, for the world when noble realities are preached by unworthy apostles, and almost as unhappy when a noble prophet identifies himself with ill-conceived hopes. But when a glorious gospel is brought to man by earth's chiefest son, the joy-bells of heaven ring and the universe is glad.

67. Words fail to convey a sense of the appalling tragedy of the destruction of Jerusalem. No horror was wanting. Within the walls fierce party dissension raged, mutual hate exceeding even hate of the enemy. They were no human beings—they were wild animals caged together in the same city. But the grim faction ruled. They would neither surrender nor allow surrender. And they made terrible adversaries. Despair was not to be conquered when men's only desire was to die by the sword. It was no light thing to attack these in their fury. Safer, more deadly, to subdue the city by famine rather than attempt it by assault. And the famine was appalling. A wall built round it and not a grain could be smuggled into the city. It devoured the people by whole houses and families. Upper rooms were full of women and children dying for want of a mouthful. The lanes of the city were full of those stricken in the way. There lay the weak, the aged, the helpless as they fell. In the market-place were the young and the youths, who wandered about like shadows, all swelled with famine, to fall dead wherever their misery seized them. As for burying, those that were able were deterred by the great multitude of bodies and uncertainty as to their own end. Many died when they would do the last offices to some loved one; many were hurried to their own coffin before the fatal hour had in fact arrived. And climax of horror—a climax to even appal those sufferers—was reached when a mother—no ignorant, demented creature of the mob—a mother, a noble mother, was discovered seething and devouring her own babe, and making merry in her feast. And then to give grim finish to the whole were horrid portents and prodigies, and on one occasion before sun setting chariots and

troops of soldiers in their armour were seen running about amongst the clouds and surrounding the cities. But most terrible of figures was that of Jesus, son of Ananus, a husbandman; a madman ever crying his weird "A voice from the East; a voice from the West; a voice from the four winds; a voice against Jerusalem and the holy house; a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, and a voice against this whole people." For four years before the war he had uttered this dire cry, this doom of the stricken city, and during the three years of the war he never ceased. And they would have stayed his voice with whipping. But as the lash cut to the very bone at every stroke, his only answer was the moan, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem." And through all the black days he still persisted, and though sorely treated he gave no evil words in return, but only uttered his ever-lamentable refrain, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem," without change or variation. And the siege pressed; going round upon the walls with his utmost force he cried out, "Woe, woe to the city, to the people, and to the holy house," and just as he added "Woe, woe to myself also," there came a stone out of one of the engines and smote him, and with the same foreboding of evil on his lips he gave up the ghost. On the other hand, as Josephus deplores, "What did most elevate them in undertaking this war was an ambiguous oracle, that was also found in their sacred writings, how about this time one from their country should become governor of the habitable earth. The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular; and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed Emperor in Judea." However, it is not possible for men to avoid fate, although they see it beforehand. But these men interpreted some of these signals according to their own pleasure; and some of them they utterly despised, until their madness was demonstrated, both by the taking of their city and their own destruction."

But, tortures without, horrors within, were equally vain in tempting this terrible legion of the unconquerables to even thought of surrender. To them the end in whatever guise it came was the same, so that such end found them subjects of but one king alone—their God. And the relentless pressure increased. The Tower of Antonia, which frowned over the city, and had played so sinister a rôle since the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, was taken, and the Temple itself was to be invested. It also was a mighty fortress, and was supplied with water to withstand any siege. And the futility of ferocity, the futility of torturing captives to death was never more fully to be proved. If anything, it confirmed every fighter in his indomitable resolution. Beaten, he yet derided his conqueror; and where another had cried aloud, he made jest as if in the abundance of his joy. He was no whipped cur to die whimpering. Dying, he bit and snarled, and bit again. And now, with every sacred association at stake, to their fury of fighting an enthusiasm is added that, in the hand-to-hand fighting that followed, no Roman could stand before them. But the end turned on no single field, and organization was to tell its deadly tale. At last the temple is taken, but it is taken as a ruin. The flames and engines of war had done their share, but utter destruction was certain in the frenzy of the defence. Every yard was fought, until the dying and dead covered the pavement in layers and seemed to cry shame on further carnage; and when it was her own, it was only over the corpses of her soldiers that Rome could enter as conqueror. And a similar tale was to be told before the palace was theirs and the upper city; and then, and only then, Titus is master. Over one million of its people had died during the siege, and he carried away captive nearly one hundred thousand more. And desolation reigns where a proud city so recently had been.

68. And Jerusalem destroyed, its famed Temple in ruins, and Titus mourned over it as over a lost child. They were no forced tears that he shed, but

tears bitter and scalding as he viewed the city in its death. But it meant no softening of his heart for those implacables now at his mercy. His fury, his pitiless punishments, were appalling. His very magnanimity during the siege but urged him to fiercer wrath. He simply burned with rage. There were some things Rome did only too thoroughly. The wiping out the beaten was one of them. In Carthage we find parallel. There, in addition, perfidy also marked the Roman in his hate. Tricked into surrender of hostages, of leaders, and of arms, its poor people found that still no mercy was to be theirs. They were a miserable race, those last of Carthage. They cried for peace, sent deputies beseeching peace, they begged, they besought, they grovelled. Only to be listened to, to be deceived. Then, naked and helpless as a victim in the chamber of the tormentor, they are told their doom. And then it is they find their soul. They turn at bay and their last days are immortal in the stories of the world. Their conqueror-to-be stayed in their gardens, dallied with their dark-tressed women; it was but a rotten apple he had to gather. Leisurely he laid hold of it. He shrieked in pain—it was a spike of steel he had seized. And it was never to be his. A greater than he, a Scipio, had to replace him that this stricken people might be annihilated. Yes, such jobs Rome did well. No strain of pity stayed her ruthless hand, and Carthage knew her people no more. They were destroyed and scattered to the ends of the earth, and she was filled with the scum and refuse of mankind instead. Rome destroyed her in the flesh; she destroyed her in the spirit; she made clean sweep of her people, her treasures, and her past. She caused her citizens to be confounded with the scourings of the slums with which she replaced them, and her literature and her history she blotted out. And she herself undertook the telling of her tale. But for all that some glimmer of the truth occasionally and accidentally reaches us, and musing, we ask what Carthage

could really have been. And with Jerusalem she also is "thorough." She has had no need to tell her victim's story. She made Josephus her friend; she made much of him in Rome; and he has told it for her. As regards Rome, it strikes us as a fair account. His hate was all for those of his own people. Neither Vespasian nor Titus seem overdrawn, and they strike us as masters of many noble qualities. But as told, the merciless ferocity of it all still strikes one cold with horror. Surely they had sufficiently wreaked their vengeance on an unhappy people in the taking of the city to have buried the hatchet of revenge. Not so. Captives in their many thousands Titus has taken, and in their "punishment"—Josephus' word—the world should have ocular evidence of the manner of man with whom he had to contend. He knows no chivalry, no generosity to a valiant foe; no, let the world see how these can face death and torment, and then judge what it was to meet them in deadly fight. And many a town is to be thus favoured, many an amphitheatre thus graced. He is at Caesarea—what a feast for sore eyes, for its Greeks and Syrian people—and there he will celebrate the birthday of his father and of his brother Domitian. "And the number of those that were now slain in fighting with the beasts, and were burnt, and fought with one another, exceeded two thousand five hundred." Thus did he do them honour. But the great festival of all was naturally to be at Rome. Above all, his countrymen there should feast their eyes on men who had shaken their empire. Eight hundred of their bravest youths shall be led in his triumph, the finale in all its magnificence for an hour or two delayed. One of their generals, Simon, the son of Gioras—one to defy them to the last had, with all good fortune, been captured alive. In some underground way or tunnel he had been taken, and now, *piece de resistance* of the show, after being first tortured, he should in the market-place meet his end. And there was every promise he would not so much as utter one groan. It was to be a brave

sight, and high ladies would grace the entertainment with their presence.

69. But there is also the general sweeping up to be done in Judea. Jerusalem is taken, but even now all is not ended. The fortress of Masada still lours in defiance, and it has been reinforced by some of the more desperate who have escaped to it from the city. Nor is it to be tolerated. As justly tolerate a queen wasp to breed another swarm of stinging enemies. And in those walls is Eleazar, kinsman of Manahem, the last king of the Jews, though king but for a few hours; of Manahem, the son of Judas, of the line of him who was the Messiah of his people. In happier days here were material for wild recrudescence of past troubles. Rightly or wrongly, in the nobles of this house a people see the champions and saviours of the race. And these irreconcilables are ever the same. With the destruction of Jerusalem, the one formidable organization which Rome had to fear was broken up; but, as individuals, as units, they infest the empire in every part. And they must be relentlessly run to earth, rooted out, and destroyed. And Masada is invested. A wall is built round it, but its capture is no light task. There are now no internal dissensions to assist. They are one to a man, and the women and children are with them. And the fortress is almost impregnable. It is built on a hill or mountain in the wild country a little to the south of the Dead Sea. It seems to have always been a stronghold for robber bands, but Herod the Great rebuilt it in all strength and magnificence against a day of need. He was never too happy in his Jewish subjects, and at one time Cleopatra set envious eyes on his kingdom, and Antony was not a lover to deny her least request.

This hill rose almost sheer from the ground, being flanked on every side by unscalable precipices. On the top it was flat, and this Herod enclosed with a wall seven furlongs in extent. Two paths led up to it. The one from the Dead Sea, from the east, known as the Serpent, was scarcely a sheep-track. It doubled

on itself many times, and was soul-curdling to traverse even in peace, and altogether impossible when obstructed. The approach from the west was a little easier, and this way was protected by a tower of great strength. On this side also ran out a jutting projection, the White Promontory, but which was much lower than the citadel itself. This was the Achilles heel. Less determined enemies than the Romans had given up the investment in despair. Whilst the citadel was abundantly supplied with provisions and water to stand siege for many a month, they suffered from short supplies of both. The latter in especial had to be brought them from a distance by painful toil, a work to which they set their captive Jews. As fertile in ingenuity as resolute in purpose, the Romans captured the promontory and there proceeded to build it up by earthworks until it was almost the height of the citadel itself. All the time they were subject to most bloody and violent attacks by the defenders, but still they pressed on with the work. And this accomplished, they were now able to overtop the walls with their iron-lined towers and thus drive the defenders to the shelter of their battlements, whilst against them they brought up their battering-ram—a machine of terrific size, with which they commenced the smashing down of the fortifications. And the very stone and the splendour of the workmanship proved its undoing. It splintered under the heavy blows and fell in ruins. But the defenders, as full of resource, had meantime rebuilt the wall with wooden piles and baulks, with space between filled with clay. And now the huge ram, instead of shattering them, simply sank into these earthworks, pounding them if anything into a still more solid mass. And again the Romans countered. This time they brought pitch and inflammables and set the timber of the improvised walls on fire. The very construction made good draught, and it was soon in raging flames. For a moment it promised to be their own undoing; a wind rising drove the fire into their own quarters and

threatened their tower and battering-ram and other engines of war. And then change once more, the wind veers round and the flames turn on the besieged and the walls are now one raging furnace. It is the end. The breach is made. The Romans prepare for the final assault on the morrow. With daybreak they enter, and an unknown dread seizes them. The enemy is resourceful, but a terrible silence—a silence that may be felt—alone greets them. Never approach more cautious. And no opposition. Still need for greater care. No resistance. They make for, they reach the plateau of the citadel. And then the horror of it all! A smoking pyre—their enemies all dead. A night of terror and of pathos; further resistance vain, the defenders had met and for the last time. And grim the resolution. Some words by Eleazar, and they were agreed. A wistful look, a trickling tear: not for themselves but for those they loved, for a brief second unmanned, and then with stern resolve, proud in bearing, in deep silence, each sought her so dear, with their little ones, who, knowing all things, waited his return. For words the time had gone; it is one last long embrace, and the sword—the welcomed sword, the sword which had so well served in the past—and these all precious were safe from the malignancy of man. The worst over, the last act in the drama needs little further resolution, and the war is at an end. And the fortress had been most magnificently appointed by Herod; and rich the spoil to fall into the hands of the victors. But in their very exit they will defeat and disappoint the avarice and greed of their enemies. Everything precious, their gold, their silver, their ornaments, their dresses, their furniture—everything of value—they heaped into one great flaming pyre, which, further untended, dying down in the darkness, gave lurid finish to the scene.

And thus a silence, as if the mighty desert had crept in upon them. And as the enemy looked he was stunned. It was no mean foe with whom he had fought.

And thus the Jew ceased to be, as a nation.

70. And now we ask, what the conclusion of the whole matter? We have looked on one of the few scenes where a new record has been made by humanity, where man has advanced one step nearer the throne of God. Many, maybe, the imperfections in it; we may not even be satisfied as to purity of the motives—but it has been a mighty occasion. We have been with those to whom something is more precious than life, and who, for that something, have made the supreme sacrifice itself. It is the will to make the sacrifice that is all in all, and it is this capacity of sacrifice for an idea which distinguishes the man from the brute. Naturally we would analyse, dissect, carp at the sufficiency of the idea—often very immature—but our eyes again pass to the man himself. We look and read, and his nature holds us. It is the man himself that is all-glorious. If one ideal had not commanded his allegiance he would have been as faithful to another. It is his nature to be faithful, even unto death. In the interest of humanity, in the interest of his fellows, it is well if his ideal be a high one, be one justifiable by reason and experience. Then will his nobility help others also on the rough road of life and his example will be as a torch to lighten the darkness of our ignorance. And thus we see them in their last act. And we ask, what of that devotion for which they thus made end? It is not as a belief, or philosophy, or religion, as a mere metaphysical abstraction, that we measure it; but as a faith which was one with his very existence itself. Maybe, in these last days, his creed may have become crude, his belief fanaticism, his very love of God a hate of his foe; maybe, in words he would utterly fail to be intelligible or reasonable; but it is his life, his death, which tell what he, the man really is. In physics, as we have seen, we speak of momentum—mass multiplied by velocity; and the measure of effectiveness is neither velocity alone nor mass alone, but the product of the two. And we have moral momentum in our spiritual nature as well. We

have faith, multiplied by works, faith finding expression in works, works reacting and moulding faith; and the measure of such moral momentum is neither faith nor works, but the joint result, the outcome of which is life itself. And how measure these Jews in particular? Josephus saw them only as lovers of disorder, as ambitious men; men desirous of other people's goods; as a rabble dissatisfied with existing conditions; men contemptuous of the priesthood, and with no veneration for the precious things of their worship—things to him most sacred. But for all that it is in them we find the ethics of mankind at their high-water mark of the past. They, with all their qualities, good, bad, and indifferent, are the quintessence of the race. As mere physical animals they are supreme, and this was but small part of them as men. The worship of their God—the God of their holy books—was worship of their nursery. Preserve, increase, and delight in your strength and you shall rejoice in your cradle. This is the conclusion of their law—law enforced by divine sanctions. Above all, this fierce brotherhood stood for this. The notions of the Greek they had in abhorrence. In them was nothing morbid. Wherever is sex repression there is always danger of a morbid view of life and religion. Fierce blows, fierce fighting, they could understand and rejoice in—rejoice in to the extent of jesting in the midst of their miseries. Perhaps their peers were the Roman in the days of his primitive virtues, or the northern races not yet emerged from barbarism; but in a religious idealism they stand out pre-eminent in that age of shams. Does your God come first? This is the stinging question of all time. Does the God of your lips, the God of your creed, the God of your holy books come first? Undoubtedly the god we serve does come first; and if our god be our gold, our honours, our ambitions, our comforts, our children, our pleasures, our god has little complaint to make of the ardour of our worship. But in this last scene we see the Jews with no such god. He is a God calling

them to stripes and imprisonment, to poverty, misery, and to death. And they answer to the call with a smile and with a jest. And it is in the supreme moments of stress and trial that we mark how far the flood has flowed, how far the tide has ebbed. It is in his grandest achievements we place the artist, the musician, or the poet—all, alas, can sink to unworthy levels; and it is by the high-water mark of their achievements we must gauge race value to a world. One noble example is priceless in the evolution of mankind. And we remember that Christ was of them. And however we regard Him, can it ever do other than uplift our world; however we regard Him, need we inquire further why His name is the power of our world? Enough that of such a race He was first.

71. Yes, a noble example surely, but bitter the price to be paid. We cannot follow their further fortunes; it is a new page in history, but happy were those who met their end in that blaze of glory. Those to be left were to know all the miseries of being a hated and now despised race. Down, and wherever their home, and every petty people was to wreak its spite upon them. And excuse was found in the missionary efforts of these extremists who sought refuge with their brethren, but chiefly to foment them against Rome. Thus they came to Cyrene. Never greater calamity to their people there. The governor warned against them by Jews who detested their activities, arrested them and then encouraged them to turn informer against their richer kinsmen. Readily they denounced them, but *not* the conspirators against their oppressors. It was thus that Josephus had occasion for a burst of righteous fury that again and again they thus sought to implicate him. He might have been an ardent patriot, so many his activities. But—poor worm—he relied, and not in vain, on his proved fidelity to the destroyers of his country. And so they made evidence, and on it three thousand of the above unfortunates were seized and destroyed, and their wealth

added to the coffers of the empire. And we mark the virulence of hate with which they are pursued. In reputation or fame they would destroy them as they had destroyed them in estate. It is the story of Carthage again to be told. Woe to the stricken, whose enemy has the making of their history. And we note the turn given to such incidents in the pages of the then respectable historians of these times. Thus we take a note from Chapter XVI. of his history, where Gibbon summarizes the account of Dion Cassius, a native of Nicaea, who flourished about the third century. "In Cyrene they massacred two hundred and twenty thousand Greeks; in Cyprus two hundred and forty thousand; in Egypt a great multitude. Many of these unhappy victims were sawed asunder, according to a precedent to which David had given the sanction by his example. The victorious Jews devoured the flesh, licked up the blood, and twisted the entrails like a girdle round their bodies." Thus the perversion of fact. Its malevolence breathes in every word, but it shows the sort of story that was greedily accepted wherever this miserable people were now concerned. Its falsity and absurdity is patent on the face of it. Undoubtedly, with their numerous ramifications, their straight living, their fanatical zeal, the Jews may have become a great power in the world, but we doubt if they were ever in sufficient force to have executed the atrocities narrated. On the contrary—wretched, weak, hated, and now despised—in many a place it was Rome alone that stood between them and their would-be executioners. Her attitude in Antioch was typical even if cynical. There the Greeks and natives would have exterminated them. Rome would hear of no such murder. Failing this they would have driven them into banishment. But where? their own country desolated. This denied, they should at least be deprived of their social privileges. And wherefore? once more demanded the imperial master. They had given no assistance to their people in Jerusalem; wherefore should they share

their doom? But for all that, it needed Rome's strong hand to shield them, so odious were they, so anxious was a vengeful world to balance the reckonings of the past. The facts of this animosity are undoubted; the reason for its violence is not so apparent. Had mankind equally rejoiced over a Rome destroyed? But never was ruin so absolute, so complete. With the destruction of their city—their temple, the centre of their race, no more—they were crushed to the earth and from the proudest of confederations were become exiles without a country, strangers without a home. And longings unutterable pursue them through the ages. Wistfully they eye many a wretched race which, poor in all else, is yet inestimably rich in a country which it can call its own. Only an idea, may be, but some ideas are more real than many a harsher actuality of life. And in Jerusalem was type of their own fallen fortunes. Over it night broods. The pall of a great darkness overshadows. Words fail to convey a sense of the overwhelming desolation that had overtaken them and the city of their fathers and the centre of their faith. To reproduce such feelings we must go to music alone. In the long wail of some soul-piercing melody one may possibly get a glimmer of those days that were, but no grosser medium of expression can convey such thought. A great spiritual power had gone out of the world. With the destruction of Jerusalem the world had sunk many degrees in the scale of civilization. All that the Jewish God stood for in a pagan world—and it stood for far more than is generally credited—was blotted out, and whether in itself it accepted or not the later development of its faith, for those times it stood for the highest phase of religious or moral thought that God had yet given to the world. And it had gone out, and the night was black. The sun, maybe, had risen, but clouds still darkened its full glory, and at best on the horizon was but promise of the dawn.

PART III—*continued.*

Ethical Ideal in Creedless Christianity.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ETHICAL IDEAL.

¶ 72. EXPERIENCE is a hard master, but its lessons come home. And from the terrible doom of the Jews the truth is to emerge that no race, no nation, no family, no man even, shall live to himself alone and not deplore it in the end.

As far as the world is concerned, this is the great lesson to be learnt from their past. To the Jew God had given much; but ever the same blot—and it is to make of every blessing a curse, of every joy a sorrow, and of every hope despair—he is entirely self-centred. His God is for himself alone. The world and its increase are his sole inheritance. As he grew in ability, in strength, and in wealth, he above all increased in arrogance and pride of heart. To him mankind was but as slave or servant; not even as younger brother.

And the world rose and destroyed him.

Maybe, he was no whit worse than his fellow, but in his very pre-eminence the lime-light of history has been turned upon him. To this also is the added interest that as a race he still persists, whilst his contemporaries are but memories alone. The Persian has passed away; the Greek; the Roman; the Egyptian; he only remains.

And we ponder on the lesson of his past. The mad dog of the world, hated by all, every nation delighting in his humiliation, we realize how this terrible lesson was burnt into his very being. Did he appreciate it; did he learn it; did he even acknowledge it? Baited on every hand, the detestation would be reciprocated until a frenzy of hate would mark his attitude to his

fellow man. But in part only. Men find the world much as they seek it, and so the Jews. And as ever we see them widely divided amongst themselves. Mutual recriminations are to poison existence; bitterness of soul is to be the heritage of all. And in the extremists we are to find change. With the desolation of the race has come new outlook. The vanities of this life have become a faded dream; their visions are of a kingdom yet to be theirs, but a kingdom as their whilom Master had once taught them, not of this world. Their old enthusiasm for the higher life remains, but it is to seek outlet in other directions. Amongst them we are to find many exquisitely beautiful minds as witness so much of the New Testament itself. Its very preservation is testimony to those who must have loved its thought. And this is a fact lost sight of by many a critic. However we have these writings, there must have been those who delighted in them. And it is in them we find this bald lesson of experience put into exquisite teaching and, given a doctrinal character, treasured by those to whom it thus appealed. This is the secret of Christianity. Its truths went home to some human heart at the time, or they would never have come down to us. That is the great fact of their preservation. They live to-day because they lived then. As to the particular way of their being handed down, again human agency is marked in every line; but they have been handed down. Our canon is selection from innumerable similar writings, but it is the mind and heart of the selectors behind it all that is the illuminating fact. And how little we would incorporate of other writings then current and some of which are still in existence. We have the gospels of "The infancy of Jesus Christ," and of "The birth of Mary," the gospels of James and of Thomas and of Nicodemus. We have "The Sayings of Jesus," and a letter of the King of Edessa to our Lord, and we have the letter of our Lord in reply. We have the correspondence of Paul with Seneca, and his epistle to the Laodiceans. We have

the epistles of Clement, of Barnabas, of Ignatius, and of Polycarp, as well as the visions, commands and similitudes of Hermas. All these were of authority in their day. We read them and mark how admirably the canon was collected and revised. And in its very selection we see the germ of that ethical ideal which is to be the distinguishing feature of the new religion. Maybe it was born of past experience: maybe living in hate with all men proved terrible to many a Jew; maybe a craving for love became a passion; maybe all this; but here is the fact—we have this ideal established not merely as an effusion or some beautiful philosophical conception, but as an integral part of life itself.

73. And here for one moment we would again emphasize the fact that life is a duality. It is neither philosophy alone nor conduct alone, but the moral momentum of the two. It is not enough to have a magnificent ideal, unless it is also found to some extent in expression in actual life. And the measure of a religion is not the measure of its doctrine alone, nor of its practice alone, but of the two working together. And thus it may well be that we have two nominally the same faiths, but with the widest difference possible in the measure of their value. All tending to establish the simple fact that sweeping generalizations are mostly wrong. The maddest reasons are sometimes given for the wisest of actions, whilst beauty of justification is never wanting for the most contemptible of deeds. If we are called upon to judge at all, every particular case must be judged on its own particular merits, when both theory and practice will equally demand our attention.

And it is in the measure of its moral momentum that Christianity must find its justification. As a philosophy in its central idea—"Man shall not live for himself alone"—it certainly places its ideal high; and in resulting conduct, has it altogether proved wanting?

No doubt this ideal finds its sanction in many doctrinal developments, but the ideal itself is common to them all. And it is with this ideal, with its com-

plementary conduct, that we here would alone deal. As regards such ideal, there is little divergence of opinion, however much there may be in the metaphysics of varying beliefs. In fact, in this creedless aspect of Christianity we find almost unanimity of thought. There may be men—men of the highest possible learning, ability, and integrity—who, with Mr. Robertson, may even doubt if Christ ever lived at all; and others who, with mystics like Newman, may find Him more real than even their own existence; and yet who will not differ one jot in their cardinal views of a Christian life. To them honour, courage, virtue, justice, generosity, self-denial, duty, industry, or disinterestedness all connote the same notions and in the same conditions we could equally rely on both. The fact is, however much a man may dissociate himself from Christianity, he is as certainly its consequence, its offspring, and the child of its environment, as the most truculent of its doctrinaires. In our daily life Christianity—i.e. creedless Christianity—is the atmosphere, the very air we breathe; and quite as much as those more orthodox, the creedless Christian helps to make it the power of the world. It is doubtful if creeds have been helpful either in the life of the individual or of the Church. Their origin is usually to be traced to quarrelling, and they have mostly been formulated not to please the founder, but to emphasize hate of other sects. They have been the rallying cries of armies in their fight, not with evil, but with one another. Hence the present note amongst the Churches that Christianity is a spent force. Rather would it seem that in its creedless form never was it such a power in our land. It is getting into the life of the nation. The new generation has far more the spirit of the Founder than any generation that is gone, our own included. Let me give one happy example. The Boy Scout movement, with its pretty little lady offshoot, the "Brownies."

Of no creed, the movement embraces all creeds. And what its central thought? The very central thought

of Christianity itself, that once every day a member shall exercise self-denial, shall do a kindness, to give pleasure to another. And, amazing fact, there are members who live up to this standard. For myself, I should have thought one such act a week was sufficiently exigent. Once a week to do something one does not wish to do for the sake of some one else is—well, we won't discuss that matter. Happily for my peace of mind I belong to the old generation whose maxim is, "Do as I say and not as I do." Perhaps that is why the rising one does not think very much of our opinions.*

74. In these pages I have severely excluded all comment on any matter relating to doctrine, but as there is complete unanimity in regard to this central truth of Christianity, it seems it may simplify our inquiry if we follow it as our guide and still regard ethical standards as more or less co-extensive with religious ideals.

And in itself it is but part of the still more comprehensive teaching of our Lord, who came to show us the "Father."

Until His time the highest conception of God was undoubtedly that of the Jews, who saw in Him a God of Righteousness. Their worship of Him as a Spirit in contrast to the anthropomorphism of the West marked no intrinsic or essential difference in the current ideas of the Deity. So as regards their monotheism, there was such overlapping of thought between all the philosophic minds of that day that distinctions became metaphysical refinements alone. But in the God of their lives, in their God of Righteousness, was found an ideal which even then the world at large was beginning to appreciate.

And how the pagan world in general viewed God cannot be better exemplified than by the talk of a missionary with a learned Chinese gentleman. "I believe in God," he said; "I do not believe in your God."

* Rochefoucault puts this very pleasantly to us old fellows: "Men begin to give good advice when they are too old to set a bad example."

I believe in a god who must be appeased." Here was echo of pagan thought; here, surviving amongst the intellectuals of the East was epitome of one phase of thought of the ancient world of two thousand years ago. The god of their worship was a god to be appeased; a god of terror; a god to be conciliated by sacrifice. They were pitilessly logical. In fact, logic has never been wanting in any religion of the past or present. But it helps in no way. Finite, to us the infinite, is a closed book, clasped and sealed; we have not even a glimmer of what it really may be; "*ex nihilo nihil fit*": out of nothing, nothing. We have no premise, therefore can draw no conclusions. And starting with nothing, we end with the same invaluable result. Most logical of reasoners, the Brahmins, saw in their triad of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, the creative, preserving, and destroying principles of nature; but it was God as Siva held the imagination of an ancient world. Finding him terrible in many of his manifestations they built upon such premises an underworld of such supreme dread that it cast a black shadow on this existence here. And a world wretched in its unending fighting found in present conditions parallel and justification for terrors yet to come.

And it is amongst such surroundings that we must see our Lord as teacher of the new and supreme truth that God is no God of terror; but that God is our Father; God is love.

We certainly shall not appeal to either metaphysics or logic in support of this teaching. Each man's heart must judge for itself; and more, is the best judge and the only judge; and there we leave it. But viewing the two conceptions of the Deity, this we certainly do find, that whereas the one has ever dragged man down lower and lower, to the pit of hell itself, the other is ever associated with all that we regard as best and most beautiful in human nature. This is experience. If with it our logic and metaphysics, analogies and reasoning, do not agree—well, so much the worse for our reasoning and logic is all we can

conclude. Better inquire into our premises again. Or still better, instead of imagining God as we think He is, or as we think He should be, let us search Him out in His actual works, and so far find Him as He is. We may not accomplish much, but at least we shall reduce our margin of error.

75. Old ideas die hard, and this pagan view of the Deity still dominates a large part of mankind. More than any idea it tends to enslave the heathen mind and to make his life a misery. This is the experience of every missionary, and with their preaching of the God of Christ his happiness has been immeasurably increased. And the true story of Christianity, which has yet to be written, is the story of the inception, maturing and working out of this idea of the Deity as first taught by our Lord Himself. No doubt the fatherhood of God may be referred to in other writings of His period, maybe as a boy in Alexandria itself He may have heard its first discussion, but the thought is the very centre and keystone of the Christian arch in its entirety.

And it divides a present world from a past. From its enunciation many important corollaries are to be deduced. God is our Father, God is Love, and therefore we are all members of the same household. Neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free—we are all brethren. This is the foundation concept of society to-day. We are one family. And this is enforced by experience. No one state in the body politic can be sick and all not suffer. Rich and poor we may have, but never bond and free. Slavery is repellant to the very idea of family life. On the other hand law, order, and authority are essentials of every household. Law alone, far from settles our relations together. Any good citizen would be ashamed to do for his fellow man only the minimum required by the law. Amongst all there is the growing consciousness that to some extent we all have a certain responsibility for one another's happiness. After all, whoever he may be, a man's life is all-precious to himself, and the feeling is general, every one should have his chance. This is

no mere church proposition, and is found as much outside as in it. It is a part of that creedless Christian atmosphere to which we have already referred.

Then, again, slavery was the curse of the past. It conflicted with no then recognized ethical ideal. And it involved slavery of mind as well as of body. Possibly it was a growth, a necessity of the times. Mankind, ever in ferment, independence in action or thought was a danger and tolerance an impossible virtue. In fact, until a very late period in history it was intolerance that was so regarded. No man should have such jelly-fish opinions that he would not force them on every one else. Naturally, this thought was found in religion to the full, and with the tendency for all forms to become stereotyped, men had to belong to the herd or be slaughtered by it. But with God our Father all was changed. Why any form or ceremony as an essential? Why any fetish or shibboleth? Why anything but perfect liberty? God our Father, our only service was service of love. For children there was no law. This rings out again and again through the teaching of Christ and of His apostles. So amazing was this teaching that even to this day the religious world is unable to grasp the thought, and if Christ's words are too explicit to be arguable, at least it will insist that unless such love be shown in the exact way it approves, it cannot be love at all. But Christ looks into the heart, and love there, and He seeks no more; and love not there, of what value any outward show?

And God our Father, and we His children, above all He would have us happy children. He has given us a good gift in life—He would have us rejoice in His gift. Nor is any notion more abhorrent to Him than that we can please Him by subjecting ourselves to unnecessary suffering. The pagan deity may delight in sacrifice—and what sacrifice so potent as self torment?—but never the Deity of Christ.

Such in brief in doctrinal form the new ethical concept that the world owes to Christ in His teaching.

What is astounding is that such theory of life should have been taught two thousand years ago, when wholly foreign to the then trend of human thought. But that it is thought of our land and our times who to-day will deny?

76. Such then epitome of the Christian ideal. In its development it is not a little remarkable how fair an index it proves of the corresponding change and growth in our ethical conceptions. We see the birth of this new philosophy, we mark it in its maturity amongst ourselves. What of the intervening period? The amazing change from then to now is obvious. How of the steps by the way? To mark the advance, note but the close of the war of Rome with the Jews, and that of our great war. The Jews conquered, and we see Titus—Titus, famed and beloved for his magnanimity—carrying back with him to Italy prisoners by the thousand to grace his triumph, and that those at home, their senators and common folk, their high-born ladies and children, their philosophers and their priests, equally with the masses and the rabble of their untaught, might gloat over the scenes and agonies of war which they were only too realistic in reproducing. And what in these times of a circus advertisement which should tell us that five hundred German prisoners would be exhibited in battle scene, with a guarantee that not less than two hundred would be killed outright or at least wounded beyond hope of recovery. Altogether inconceivable. Or what of the reduced programme that merely one captive, in all the vitality of his youth, would be crucified or burnt or tortured on the stage. The very suggestion is appalling. Why, we are not quite satisfied that we are right to refuse them hospitality in a friendly tournament of chess. And as some would have it, is there no connection between then and now? Grant that in its inception the very philosophy of Christ was reaction and revolt from the horrors of His times, are we to wholly ignore a teaching which, preached so long ago, yet anticipates our highest thought to-day. Had it

proved mere platitude it had been otherwise; but the philosophy of Christ finds a certain correspondence in the conduct of our time. Maybe in the story of its dogma, the story of Christianity has been a sad one; but, after all, that has been but a part of its story, and the part of least value. Men quarrelled over dogma, not because they were Christians but because they were men. Men were cruel, quarrelsome, vindictive, and hateful, not because of their faith but because in themselves they were about the most worthless creatures the world has known. Had they not quarrelled over their petty theological differences they would have quarrelled over everything else. When men are quarrelsome any cause will serve as occasion for difference. Of course, if theologians are out to claim that the progress of man is due to dogmatic Christianity, they must cast up both sides of the account. It is no fair bookkeeping to claim all the good associated with their squabbling and omit all the evil. But, on the other hand, to deny all influence to the beautiful philosophy of our Lord is as much to err on the other side. Nor has the Church been all theological, all quarrelling. It has numbered its myriads of sincere, honest, true, hard-working lovers of our Lord and of His teaching who have given their lives to doing His will. And they have filled a want in the world; and they still fill a want in the world. And as long as they try to live His life and teach others to do the same, they will continue to fill a want. No doubt, if every Church were swept out of existence tomorrow, the power of Christ would still be the power of the land, but for all that the world would be very much the poorer. Too much of the best of our lives is associated with our Churches, and no one could possibly view their destruction with equanimity. Yet, at the same time, it is very far from the fact that amongst them alone is Christianity to be found. And the day the Churches recognize this reality that day they will add immeasurably to their influence, their power, and, not least, to their numbers.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE TEACHING OF CHRIST.

¶ 77. To realize how the religion of Christ had its first inception, we must try to understand how the truths He taught would then appeal to mankind. And it would rather be as a new philosophy than a new creed that it would impress itself on the people of His times. We have noted the basic difference between His teaching and thought then current, and that Christ was fully acquainted with it all is easily established by any slight inquiry into the comparative tenets of contemporary schools. Our Lord was a great cosmopolitan. As a boy He was probably educated in Alexandria, and then it is in Galilee of the Gentiles that we see Him, and Galilee was one of the great entrepôts, marts, junctions, or clearing houses of the civilized empires of those days. Through it to the south is the only practicable road to Egypt; to the east is the route to the once great empire of Persia; and a little beyond to India and the extreme Orient generally. To the north was the once famous empire of the Hittites, with Darius's great road still leading to Smyrna, to the Dardanelles, and to Europe in general. At the time of our Lord Rome was the master power of the physical world, though the Greek still held sway in the realms of art and thought. Of this Hellenized imperium, Galilee was a hub, with spokes radiating from it in every direction. It was impossible to find a better centre for receiving impressions, or for giving widest dissemination to any new or striking teaching. On the one hand we are not to be surprised that Christ's teaching does recall that of every other philosopher, nor on the other that along with the story of His foul murder we also find it making its way to the uttermost parts of the earth. Here He was in touch with all the known wisdom of His age. The lore of the Brahmin was His, the teaching of Buddha helped to make His own. Zoroaster finds echo in His

repeated truths, whilst Babylonian and Chaldean legend—foundation of so much of the Jewish creed—was essentially His as well. So with the dual spirit of Egypt—with its ancient cult, its belief in a life hereafter and judgment to come, as well as with its later exotic hellenistic and more purely monotheistic school He was absolutely saturated. Nor did there escape Him the essentially anthropomorphic outlook of Europe, with its conceptions so amazingly idealized by Greek art. And Christ is all these and none of these as we hear the teaching that is to transform mankind. Contact with all undoubtedly, but with what difference in essentials. And yet, in the days of darkness so soon to smother the world, shall we be surprised if even there is a mistiness as to who this teacher was? "I anathematize those that say that Zoroaster, and Buddha, and Christ, and Manichaeus, and Mithra are one and the same." Thus the early renunciation put in the mouth of the new convert to Christianity, showing how soon doubts had arisen even as to His identity, but with how little justification. Where in any of them teaching such as His? That characteristics belonging to them may have been appropriated to Him is possible. Why confusion with Manichaeus at this time is difficult to understand. But it is otherwise with Mithra the Mediator; the friend of man; the saviour from evil spirits after death; especially when we remember how much the gentile world of those times sought to find resemblances and not differences in the deities of their beliefs. That later Christians saw in Christ this Mithra, or mediator with God, is undoubted; but pre-eminently the teaching of Christ himself was that God was our Father. This was the supreme truth He came to tell mankind. With Zoroaster in his broad, ethical teaching He certainly has much in common; and the sweet touch of Buddha, the harmony that pervades his thought, the mutual kindliness He would inspire in His followers, all find warm response; but Zoroaster does not content Him, and certainly He is no Buddhist.

Far too miserable the view of life as a whole that Buddha takes. This life a weary pilgrimage, a trial, a purification, a preparation, and for what? For heaven? an eternity of bliss hereafter? No, not for this; but to be as if we had never been. The consummation of the whole Nirvana; absorption in the infinite of which we once have been part. Cheerless, cold, hopeless; at best hardly more than a great negation. What more despairing belief? but with the redeeming feature that in this world even it does secure its votaries a happiness of which its very teaching is stern disapproval. But this is a world's experience. Happiness is rarely the prize of those who alone make it their quest; rather it proves reward of those who give it little thought. Many a one at the call of duty has courted joylessness and sorrow, and to his amazement has found that it is such happiness he has made his own. Thus one of the pleasing results of Buddha's teaching, though neither the intended nor the expected one. But Christ, He will have no such pessimism, not even in thought. He has come to show the Father that He may bring fulness of joy into the life of man. He would have life here one long song of rejoicing. Life is not the terrible infliction of Buddha; it is the good gift of a Heavenly Father, and we praise and serve that Father best when we enjoy His gift to the full and our hearts are full of thankfulness and love.

78. Thus we glance at the thought of Christ in relation to that of the great world teachers of the past, and here we would try and see Him in more particular relation to His own people and His own times. As a man we get a glimpse of Him, and would much love to fill in His portrait with more detail and completeness. We have seen Him as first of the fierce, resolute, heroic race we have been witnessing, and with them He could look death in the face and smile. Never Jew more contemptuous of Titus than Christ contemptuous of Pilate. How one delights to look on that proud, unbending figure. In the prime and vigour of man-

hood; of royal line; of a race striking for its virility and physique, we see Him prince amongst princely men. And how false to truth the thousand and one anaemic pictures that do duty for His portrait. He was infinitely tender, but it was the tenderness of the strong, not of the weak, still less of the effeminate. And that He so loved children! Where sweeter scene than some young hero of the war nursing his little one? Strength radiates from His every pore would we see Him as He was. Titus chose eight hundred of the most beautiful of his Jewish captives to adorn his triumph and tell his countrymen the manner of foe they had overcome. Is there slightest doubt that had Christ been then living he had been one of that unhappy band? Had He ever held that wild, turbulent following of His unless their peer and more than peer in every heroic virtue. He was, we know, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. The misery of those He was amongst overwhelmed Him. But His life was not all sombre, and we see Him at the festival, the wedding, and the feast, as well as in the garden of Gethsemane. It is a later age that loves thus to chiefly picture Him, but not so His contemporaries and those He directly taught. The hosannas of the day might be the crucify of the morrow, but there were the hosannas as well. He must have been of glorious countenance and of magnificent carriage. It is impossible to imagine in Christ anything mean or insignificant. Asceticism was cult of the Essene, cult of the Buddhist, cult of many another religion; but never the teaching of Christ. To other sources it must be traced, and the monastic devotees of many a religion find no example in our Lord. And Paul tells us that He was with Peter fifteen days. What days they must have been! How much He must have learnt of his Master; how much he might have told us that we so much want to know! What was He like? How did He talk? How did He dress? What did He eat? Where did He live? What of His education? His tutors? His friends? and the thousand and one things that

we delight to be told of any we would know. The other apostles we can forgive being so uncommunicative. War and its alarms soon engulfed them, or they might take it for granted that every one knew Christ as they knew Him, and, like other bad correspondents, omit such details as unworthy of their subject. But Paul—Paul, who had never seen Christ—surely he must have been in a fever to know to the last dot anything connected with his new found Lord. And surely *he* might have realized that after-folk would be as hungry for the most trifling particular. But his record of those days is as cold as if Christ had never been even mentioned between them, and more, as if he had never even heard His story, so few his allusions to any of its features.

79. And again, in His life and in His teaching, with which of the four sects that Josephus tells us of was He in sympathy? In politics, in family, of the royal line of David, we see Him with the terrific followers of Judas. He has their same stern resolve, their same directness of purpose, their immortal contempt for danger and suffering; but in doctrine He is not exactly one with them. Rather He is curber of their inpetuosity. It is another school that He is exponent of. In His fearlessness of consequences, in His denunciation of wrong in high places, He is with them; but with it He knows a tenderness that was never theirs. At the same time we find in Him no defiance of authority, though we must not press too far His answer to the question, "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Caesar?" What ever His views, He was not going to gratify His tempters by having His hand forced, and we delight in the neatness of His reply. Then was He of the Pharisees? Too bitterly He inveighs against them. They are not a bad sort of man, but they were a sham; they posed; they would appear superior to what they really were. And He loathed shams and posturing, and He looked into the heart of man itself. And a Sadducee? and He Himself assurance of the resurrection? Then Essene or

Hellenist? Hellenist certainly not. He will be in no slavery to the law; He is above the law. He will be in no slavery to the synagogue; He is master of the synagogue. But the law He honours and the synagogue He teaches in. And the Essenes? True, with them He has much in common. His very prayer is crystallization of their tenets. Give us this day our daily bread. His teaching is redolent of their views. Take no thought for the morrow; Where thy treasure is thy heart will be also; Foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head. And so His talk: Give to him that asketh; He that would take thy cloak, let him have thy coat also. The Essenes, having all things in common, knew neither rich nor poor. Their vows were celibacy, work, and rigid observance of ritual. Three years they were proved before admission to the order, and backsliders were few. They shared with the first Christians their contempt for suffering, and rich men joined them, joying in the sacrifice they were called upon to make. In all this Christ was much at one with these ascetics. Many of their sentiments He voices; but again, He is not of them. He is no slave to ritual; He came to give freedom to a ritual-cursed world. Still less is He communist. The labourers in the vineyard are alike paid their penny a day, and note the words of justification put into the mouth of their master by our Lord: "Shall not I do what I like with mine own?" Again, we must not press these words too far or too literally. Christ, more than any philosopher, was essentially a teacher *ad hoc*. Himself, maybe, master of all truth, yet He knew frail human nature could only benefit by it as applied to the actual facts of actual examples. He was no communist that another should say to his brother, "Brother, divide the inheritance with me." He was all communist that every man is God's trustee for every gift given him, even to life itself. Christ was no communist when man under aegis of his words would rob his fellow, but all communist when man

would live for himself alone. Christ was no communist when we would be full of what other people should do; Christ was all communist when He would have us reflect on our own duties. In all His teaching Christ never tells us what we have a right to demand; He only enforces that it is our privilege to give. Nor in His teaching do we find countenance for instructing other people as to their duties. We shall do His will when we are single-eyed to our own. Is a man happy and prosperous, He would have him remember less fortunate brethren; but remembrance is to move from within, and is not a duty to be imposed from without. Christ was far from admirer of the overflowing love that delights in the charity done at another's expense. Christ is never a demagogue; His mission is to warm men's hearts. He is never sickly sentimental. Mark His parable of the wise and foolish virgins. It was right the foolish should suffer for their folly. It was not right that the wise should be deprived of the fruits of their prevision. Thus Christ was of the Essenes and yet not of the Essenes, and with their observance of forms and ceremonies He was wholly out of sympathy. Their love of ritual and of outward show was far too much the foible of all the sects. The Jew plumed himself on being a very superior sort of person, and for the very superior person Christ had no great demand. In this we see Him a teacher so entirely standing alone: of no sect; of no time; of no country. And what better proof of His royalty? for royalty alone knows such detachment of view. He will have no fetish of any human ordinance. He is with man to deliver him from bondage, above all the bondage of ceremonial. Devotion to Himself is never to be shown by devotion to outward form. Take His attitude to the Sabbath. He will have no fetish made of the Sabbath. The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath. So His attitude to prayer—He will have no fetish made of prayer. The praying in the market-place meets with His unequivocal condemnation. He is no encourager of the prig. Pray

when no man knows; pray in secret; pray at all times; pray in any place, in every place, so long as it is with a consciousness of an ever-present Father. The synagogue has His toleration, but God is not specially there and the temple—temple worship He came to destroy. Where two or three are met together in His name is His holy place, and there God their Father is ever present with them. And He delights in no metaphysical subtleties. The Sadducee waxes eloquent over free will; the Essene is as enthusiastic over a predetermining fate; the Pharisee is trimmer between the two extremes; but with Christ all that makes for the actual fullness and joy of life as it is has His approval, and He would do away with all limitations. Human institutions are infinite. Every age, locality, and nation has need for its own, and they must vary as does human nature itself. Leisure the joy of to-day may be the *ennui* of to-morrow; and children the blessing of a sparse population may be the burden of an overcrowded community. What may be life for one may be death for another, and we can only all agree when we all agree to differ. But not so the human heart. The heart beats much the same, whatever hue the skin, and it is the heart, the heart of the individual, He would change and fill with love. And filled with love, man will delight in the will of the Father.

Such the special philosophy of our Lord. It may well be that one man's nature may find inspiration in one form of belief, whilst another alone satisfies the cravings of his fellow; it may well be that in our relations with the unseen we all shall have different experiences because we all are different, but in this one thought so emphasized by Christ we may all find harmony, agreement, and satisfaction. And it is this which has made the teaching of Christ a vital energy, a spiritual force to compel growth as does life in other forms. It is not that we are so superior to the past in our metaphysics, our theology, or our dogma, certainly not in our logic, that Christ is now the power

of the world, but that so many sweet and perfect characters have laid hold of this living truth and made it their life. It is the beautiful face, the sweet disposition, and contented heart, the thought for others that has ever been best missionary of His teaching, and had His kingdom been in their hands alone it had to-day been a kingdom which had known no end.

80. And how did this message impress itself upon mankind? To-day it has come down to us as the confluent thought of two great converging streams. On the one hand we see it essentially as a Judaistic movement; on the other as a new philosophy impressed on the existing cults of the time. There are writers like Mr. Robertson, a man of great ability and the highest integrity, who doubt even the historicity of Christ. It is a little difficult to appreciate even his point of view. There must have been some heroic, titanic figure in the background for all the thousand and one religions of a past to have centred round. The very generality of the name Christian takes us back to the individual, and it is corroborated by the very differences we find in early Christian thought. There were hardly two communities of Christians who ever held the same views. We have most violent extremes from the grand Davidic Christian in bitterest hostility to Rome, to the infinitely lovable school as found in the epistles of St. John. Hundreds of years are to pass before anything like established dogma is to be known in the Church; but what united them? what was the common nexus that made them one? Christ, and Christ alone; Jesus of Nazareth; no *χρῆστος* of the Greeks, but "The Christ," "The Anointed" of the House of David. And the Christians from the first are seen in hostility to Rome. Persecution of them commenced long before Christianity as we now know it had taken definite form. Everywhere it was the same. And what is the reason? It is that, thanks to Pilate, the name of Jesus of Nazareth, the King, the Messiah of the Jews, the Christ of Galilee, had become a household word

throughout the Roman Empire. Wherever a great city, there emissary of the fierce Judas brotherhood stirring up enmity against their oppressors. It is with them St. Paul is confounded. "These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also";* "We have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes."† It is sufficient but to name Jesus of Nazareth to awaken violent passions. There are still those to cry "crucify" and thos to cry "hosanna." The whole of the gospel of St. John is full of the divisions between these two parties. That His name was ever on their tongues can we a moment doubt? As we have remarked, where better text for political propaganda? What more pitiable story than this of Jesus, victim of Rome's appalling tyranny. And it had been a hard heart that heard unmoved the story of His doom. In those cold days of stupor and heedlessness of pain, tears were few that others suffered; but who had heard His story with eye wholly dry? And coupled with it pungent words of teaching—teaching still the delight of man. And these the conditions, can we imagine ones more favourable for the widespread knowledge of both the Teacher and somewhat of what He taught. What better hypothesis does Mr. Robertson suggest to account for the widespread acceptance of Christianity as label of a distinct party yet combined with most infinite variety in the details of belief? The unity is found in the central figure of the gospels, and with its story no other suggested theory can compare in probability or as explanation of facts as then existent. And thus it is as teaching delivered in Galilee we see it spread to the ends of the known earth. North and south, east and west it made its way and was accepted by men of every nation and every creed. To all, Jew and Gentile, it appealed, and quite independently of any original belief. By pagan or Buddhist, Brahmin or Jew, anthropomorphist or

* Acts xvii. 6. † Acts xxiv. 5.

idealist, it was equally received. It was as no new religion that it first came to them. That much of it was current under the title, "The Sayings of Jesus" is evidence of how it was regarded. And thus received it only displaced such existing beliefs as were actually inconsistent with it. Because a man accepted such teaching he did not therefore give up all his old religious ideas. At most he only modified them to suit the new thought. And thus it is again and again, that when we would seek the origin of any particular ordinance or observance in the Christian Church, we gravitate to ancient practices, and find it not in the teaching of Christ nor yet in the Bible, but in some old pagan custom or ceremonial. Christ's teaching, with story of His murder exactly like that of Mohammed or Buddha, was superimposed on then existing beliefs which it has never entirely displaced. As regards Buddha, there is every indication that with his teaching was soon incorporated the more ancient worship of the Sun and Moon, whilst Mohammed, preaching "Allah the All-Merciful," a conception taken from Christ Himself, deliberately adopted much of the then existing Arabian religion, which he combined with Judaism, Christianity, and his own especial tenets. All this proves somewhat perplexing when we would master any especial particular dogma, but is hardly material when we confine ourselves to the great central truths of Christ's teaching. As we would follow the change in ideals from then to now, we may have to consider these conditions more closely, but further we do not propose to discuss them.

81. And meantime possibly, if not probably, as an independent movement Christianity is also developing along Judaistic lines, somewhat political in character. The hope of the Jews, almost universal, was in the coming of a Messiah to once more deliver them from the intolerable conditions of their existing life. Cyrus they essentially saw as their first great deliverer. Then Judas Maccabaeus filled the roll. With the declining fortunes of his family a belief grew up that the true

Messiah would be found in the House of David, notwithstanding that it also had lost its proud pre-eminence. But the idea, a challenge to the House of Aaron, was fiercely resented by the priestly class and their following, and when it took concrete form in Christ, they never rested until they murdered Him. And Mr. Robertson finds it difficult to see in Jesus of Nazareth an historical character. Let Mr. Robertson view the miraculous and wonder-stories in the gospels in any way he pleases, but if ever an historical atmosphere is found to fit the times it is here. These two parties, the one centring in Galilee with the House of David as their leaders, and the others in Jerusalem with the House of Aaron as their rulers loathed one another with unspeakable loathing. And certainly Christ did not mince matters with them. He plainly told them "Ye are of your father, the devil," and they as vehemently rejoined, "Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil."* The scorn in the abusive, "thou are a Samaritan," shows the wisdom of His party in making certain that at all hazards He should be born in Bethlehem. And the same factions, with the same hate persist until the end, and only cease when as a nation the Jews no longer exist. Here, no doubt, we are in difficulty—an etymological one—as to the precise meaning to be given to the word "Messiah." Josephus writes, "But now what did most elevate them in undertaking this war was an ambiguous oracle that was also found in their sacred writings how about this time one from their country should become governor of the habitable world." This material view would certainly seem to have held its own at least until the destruction of Jerusalem. With that awful event all was changed. In their misery they could never bring themselves to believe that God would wholly desert them, and their hope and confidence were that He would yet raise up a Messiah who would save them. And the divisions amongst themselves took new form. Whilst there

* John viii. 44, 48.

were those who lived in expectation of another warrior Messiah, there were others who now turned their thoughts back to the Christ, the Messiah who had already come, and whose mission had been abundantly proved by the fulfilment of His teaching. These, abandoning their old war spirit, now saw in the promises of their prophets assurance not of an earthly kingdom, but of a spiritual one, exactly as Christ Himself had taught. And as these Christians were to be found in every part of the empire, we find the seed of the Church already sown far and wide, and ready with auspicious conditions to spring up and ripen into harvest. No doubt there would be much overlapping. Some would become absorbed into the general Jew population, which looked for a temporal Messiah, and in return some of such population would join their numbers. So they would be reinforced by many existing sects who found correspondence between the teaching of Christ and ideas they already held. We can well imagine that an Essene brotherhood might thus readily accept Christ as mouthpiece of many of their sentiments. Complications began to develop when the Gentile world was also impressed with the teaching of Christ and the story of His death. With the resulting divisions the pages of the epistles are filled. Gradually we are to see the Jew element lessening in numbers and importance, and with it a gradual change in the mental environment of the Church as a whole. Overmuch pagan thought had become assimilated with the teaching of Christ, and still the Jewish world was to find itself in antagonism to his brother man. Thus, in tracing the course of Christianity we are to mark its movement along these two well-defined channels: Judaism and teaching impressed on then existing cults, religions, and superstitions. As years pass fusion gradually takes place, and we find the nucleus of the Christian Church as we now have it. The focus of this converging thought was Alexandria. It is in Alexandria, so probably the home of Christ's boyhood, that we find the greatest

enthusiasm in tracing and recording every saying and tradition connected with our Lord. At the same time it was the home of every known faith of the world. All found representation there. Buddhist, Brahmin, Greek, Egyptian, Persian, and Jew had there congenial home. "Out of Egypt have I called My Son" applied as much to the religion as a whole as to its first great founder. Thus the infinite diversity of beliefs found from the very first amongst the new disciples. But divided as they were in many things, they were one in their condemnation of the cruel murder of their Master and in acceptance of His new gospel that God was the Father of all. As to this there has never been any uncertain sound, and this has made the religion of Christ the religion for mankind. Nor is the least of its triumphs that in his conception of "Allah the All-Merciful" the Mohammedan also shares in the magnificence of the revelation.

82. Thus we view the new ethical ideal as it at first makes its way, and now our interest centres in the manner in which it has been preserved and come down to us. We see our Lord a mighty teacher in Aramaic in Galilee, and we have His story told us in Greek and in Alexandria. The reason for this seems generally accepted, and we cannot do better than give it as found in *The Bible Handbook*,* which contains a mass of interesting and reliable information. Thus it says: "Our synoptics rest *ultimately* on oral tradition. Probably the Gospel—i.e. the facts about Jesus Christ—was preached by the apostles and their converts for twenty or thirty years before the need of committing it to writing was felt. The living voice was yet in the Church, the Spirit mighty in His operation; the written word marks a time when the first generation of Christians was passing away, and the Lord still delayed His coming. When the need arose material was ready in groups of narrative and discourse received from the apostles and, Eastern fashion, stereotyped by constant repetition by 'evan-

* Religious Tract Society.

gelists' and catechists." Such the account given on which the most illuminating commentary is the story as we have followed it. The almost year to year annals of this period found in Josephus give us a setting of reality in which we can place our Lord which otherwise would be almost impossible. In the gospels alone it is as some King Arthur of tradition that Christ moves, a figure of transcendent grandeur that dominates all time. And thus it is with the most orthodox of schools, we cannot see in our writings any authorized account direct from the pen of any first hand authority. Behind the accounts we cannot see any original from which they may have been translated. But what we do see is—Christ dead; Jerusalem destroyed; the race scattered; a passionate longing—especially in Alexandria—to collect every fact, saying, or fragment that in any way related to Christ's life-work or mission on earth. We have already noted the mass of material which had been collected, and the industry with which it had been sifted, collated, and edited to establish our present canon, but at the same time we must not be surprised that certain discrepancies also crept in, which we cannot altogether harmonize with actual facts. Thus of especial interest is the exact date of Christ's birth. Amongst other matters, our chronology depends upon it. All agree that it was in the closing years of Herod's reign. He dead, and his son Archelaus claimed the succession. This was violently opposed by the Jews, and was occasion of a great tumult—almost a revolution. Urgently they petitioned Augustus not to accede to him, but to incorporate them as a Roman province instead. Augustus, having heard both sides, decided in favour of Archelaus, and appointed him king in room of his father Herod. For ten years he thus ruled and, with the one proviso that he remitted the tribute regularly to the Imperial treasury as an independent sovereign. But meantime he made himself so obnoxious to his subjects that once more they appealed to Caesar, and this time with

success. Archelaus was deposed, his property confiscated, and he banished to Vienna, whilst Judea was at last made a Roman province, as they desired. And this taking over of Judea as a Roman province, as we have seen, was a most important incident in the history of the Jews. Cyrenius, the President of Syria, superintended, and whilst Coponius was appointed their especial governor, he, Cyrenius, personally, as Josephus tells us, came into Judea to take account of their substance and to dispose of Archelaus' money. And we know the terrible commotion it caused, which was led by Judas of Galilee, who said that this taxation was no better than slavery. But all these incidents took place at the end of the reign of Archelaus, whilst in the account of St. Luke we find them classed with the birth of Christ and placed at the beginning. "And it came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be taxed" (and this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria). "And all went to be taxed, every man into his own city." We cannot explain how this statement came to be made, and it was years after Herod's death that Cyrenius was made principal of Syria. But notwithstanding all this and though we have not a dozen words in the tongue in which Christ taught, yet we feel no want in the filling in of His picture or His teaching. And it is His teaching which has gone home. I know my opinion is of little value, but personally I am inclined to think that His story has thus come down to us with the express intention that we shall not dogmatize. As a whole, Christ is given to us, but would we emphasize any particular fact or saying on which to build some particular doctrine, we have not the materials. There is not one word which we can say has come down to us exactly as said, or one incident exactly as it occurred. And our version, translation of a translation, but accentuates this fact. But exactly as the teaching of the Old Testament in its enforcement of its great truths is altogether inde-

pendent of the human agencies by which it has been preserved, so that of Christ in the gospel He had for mankind. The great moral truths which He taught, the great standard of ethics which He established, in their mere enunciation carry a conviction needing no other corroboration whatever. Through the whole rings out with unmistakable clearness, "God is our Father, God is love."

His messengers may be fallible, but about His message is no uncertainty or doubt whatever.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PAGANISM AND ITS CULTS.

¶ 83. No doubt reflection of the times themselves, a deepening gloom settles upon mankind, and his beliefs become ever darker and more dismal. Is there any God in the world, any God that delights in aught but the misery of the nations? As with many a poor savage of our time, the unknown but added horrors and yet more horrors to the present existence. In Egypt but one idea obsessed every man, woman, and child—the Day of Judgment. It communicated itself to the Greek, and his sunny naturalness in religion gave way to the terror of the hour when his soul should have to make answer to Pluto for its works on earth. On the horrors of Hinduism we need not dwell. Siva was the dominating deity, first and last to be appeased. Buddhism was one long note of despair, and even the Jew had not escaped the prevailing infection. The Old Testament presents but one phase of his belief. Whatever his religion at the beginning, it now also had developed into extreme Pharasaism, in which a dread of the future played no little part. This we know precisely from the writing of Josephus, which, whilst speaking of Jewish beliefs, yet gives a very clear idea of Greek and pagan views in general as well.

"Now, as to Hades, wherein the souls of the righteous and unrighteous are detained, it is necessary to speak of it. Hades is a place in the world not regularly finished, a subterraneous region, where the light of the world does not shine, from which circumstance—that in this place the light does not shine—it cannot be but there must be in it perpetual darkness. This region is allowed as a place of custody for souls, in which angels are appointed as guardians to them, who distribute to them temporary punishments agreeable to every one's behaviour and manners.

"In this region there is a certain place set apart as a lake of unquenchable fire wherein we suppose no one hitherto hath been cast; but it is prepared for a day, afore determined by God, in which one righteous sentence shall be deservedly passed upon all men; when the unjust, and those that have been disobedient to God, and have given honour to such idols as have been the vain operations of the hands of men as to God Himself, shall be adjudged to this everlasting punishment, as having been the causes of defilement, while the just shall obtain an incorruptible and never-failing kingdom. These are now, indeed, confined in Hades, but not in the same place wherein the unjust are confined. For there is one descent into this region, at whose gate we believe there stands an archangel with an host; which gate, when those pass through that are conducted down by the angels appointed over souls, they do not go the same way, but the just are guided to the right hand, and are led with hymns sung by the angels appointed over that place unto a region of light, in which the just have dwelt from the beginning of the world, not constrained by necessity, but ever enjoying the prospect of the good things they see and rejoice in, the expectation of those new enjoyments which will be peculiar to every one of them, and esteeming those things beyond what we have here. With whom there is no place of toil, no burning heat, no piercing cold, nor any briers there, but the countenance of the fathers and of the just which they see always smiles upon them while they wait for that rest and eternal new life in heaven which is to succeed this region. This place we call the bosom of Abraham.

"But as to the unjust, they are dragged by force to the left hand by the angels allotted for punishment, no longer going with a good will, but as prisoners driven by violence, to whom are sent the angels appointed over them to reproach them, and to threaten them with terrible looks, and to thrust them still downwards. Now those angels that are set over these souls drag them into the neighbourhood of hell itself; who, when they are hard by it, continually hear the noise of it, and do not stand clear of the hot vapour itself; but when they have a nearer view of this spectacle, as of a terrible and great prospect of fire, they are struck with a fearful expecta-

tion of a future judgment, and in effect punished thereby. And not only so, but when they see the place of the fathers and of the just even hereby are they punished; for a chaos deep and large is fixed between them, insomuch that a just man cannot be admitted nor can one that is unjust—if he were bold enough to attempt it—pass over it."

Thus the universal dread—the religious miasma—born of the nether world, and in which the one only ray of light is the teaching of that far-away prophet of Galilee, who would have none of such horrors and would see in God our Father alone. In all ages it has been contended that fear of consequences is the best sanction for moral conduct; that the doctrine of hell is a good workable proposition, as men deem a workable proposition, to ensure here the observance of the proprieties; and in this theory justification has always been found for the terrifying in beliefs. But not so Christ. He will be party to no reign of terror. He asks to reign as King of Love or not at all. It is liberty He has come to bring—"My truth shall make you free."

84. We begin to understand the almost insuperable difficulties this new gospel had to face when we realize how much these ancient faiths found roots deep down in human nature itself. And entrenched in ritual and ceremonial, they were proof to any change that mere reasoning could try to effect. Here and there a few philosophers might challenge some particular absurdity, but usually only then to find some esoteric meaning to give it a rational explanation. And more, doubters themselves, they did little to enlighten the people. The smaller minds amongst them prided themselves on the superiority of their exclusive knowledge, which they would not cheapen by communicating, whilst the sterner intellects—much then as now—believed it was well for the mob to be credulous, as religion, false or true, was an essential sanction of society. That a society could even be conceived where love would prove a higher stabilizing influence they never even considered. Amongst us we have those harping on the beauty and freedom of thought

of those times, and who would see in such limited thought the whole religious atmosphere of those very superior (?) ages. As a matter of fact, it was but the belief of a few individuals, and which did little to leaven the mass as a whole. The epigram of Gibbon that "the people thought all religions equally true; the philosophers all equally false; and the magistrates all equally useful," must be limited to one very short period of man's history, and then there was no such general indifference as he would seem to suggest. As a whole the past was more passionately religious than our own, and for the same reasons, intensified by general and local conditions. And for all their proud boast, not even the philosopher of those days—nor of these either, for that matter—could ever rise altogether superior to his cradle creed. Beliefs are formed long before the reason comes into play, and hence the herd instinct—a theory so much to the fore to-day. And beliefs thus formed persist in the individual, and in the family, and in the nation. And it was these which the new philosophy of Christ had to challenge and surmount.

And as we must remark, these old beliefs were buttressed and fortified by facts, experiences, logic, and reasoning hard to be gainsaid. And yet, as we have before observed, whilst the one we find dragging man down and down, the other we see making him a better, holier, and higher creation. The fact is undoubted. The explanation we shall not attempt to give. It belongs to that part of our nature which is beyond words.

85. And these old religions were the playing upon the fears and passions of the human race, of fears and passions made articulate, and given form and body. A tremendous foundation. That Christ's teaching should not immediately displace them is no matter of surprise.

And first amongst these fears is that of death itself. Life would put it from it. Nothing is more marked than the horror which every living animal—man in-

cluded—has for the dead of its own species. And we would put the dead from us—we would bury it from out our sight. And along with this is the instinctive dread that the dead, as dead, may return to haunt the living; a dread purely temperamental and a matter of feeling, but one from which no man, however intellectual, is wholly free. A creepy horror does oppress when in the presence of death. It is no less real that we know that it is wholly unreasonable. As for those who get over this feeling, like the embalmers of olden times, or the undertakers of these days, they are the pariahs of society, and there is always a feeling of repulsion to them. In the presence of death, the death of the lowliest, the head is bowed, and consciously or unconsciously for such dead some prayer is said. In the presence of death all distinctions vanish; in its hour rich and poor, wise and foolish, high and low alike are one. With the weak the strongest tremble, with the humblest the proudest bow. Individually we may wish to cling to some dear one—it seems so much for ever good-bye—although we are assured our dear one is no longer there. But along with it all is the feeling that somehow the spirit which has just left its body still hovers near and lingers round it. And this the reason for many a grand funeral. We cannot help but feel that the deceased is sharing in the honours paid him. We put it off with the pretence that we wish to please surviving friends and relations, but this is only a secondary thought—it is the spirit itself that we would gratify. It is an effort to believe that it is not with us as its body is. And thus it is if we would trace the first foundation of some church or temple; we shall find that it has been built on some site where a saint or hero has already found interment. Burial places precede, do not follow, building. The building is erected that followers may be near where the spirit of the departed may most certainly be found. As such places grow and extend, their origin may be lost; but it is to some demi-god, hero, or saint who has there found his last resting-place that the sanctity of

the place owes its origin. Nature left to itself does not allow the healthy to be too oppressed with the idea, but education and the early environment of childhood create an atmosphere which no subsequent change can ever really eradicate. To some, with brain keen to the last, death comes as a sense that all is over. To others it is a going into the dark with all its vague terrors, much as the once similar terrors of early years. To some, bright visions reveal an enchanted land—and if by chance recovery takes place they remain the most real experience in life. We are not a particularly excitable or imaginative race, and the teaching of our faith is that after all we are only rejoining loved ones who have gone before; and yet a vague uneasiness can never be wholly put on one side. Recalling these feelings, we can well imagine the results when every condition unites to aggravate the horrors. For the cool Anglo-Saxon temperament substitute the wild imagination of the Eastern or Celtic races, or the black ignorance of savage tribes; and for a belief which only dwells on the joys of reunion substitute teaching in which everything terrible is embodied, and we get some insight into the power which has swayed mankind, and will, so long as mortality and its dread creature death is part of our nature.

And how to meet this dread end has given rise to every form of religious expression. Some have aggravated the fears, so that in their narcotics the faithful finding deliverance may prize the ministrations of the elect. Others have gone boldly and denied any future in its entirety. It is not death that is alarming, but the dying that is cause of fear. Some will have it that death is but absorption into the infinite, whilst others insist on the paradox that we are only resuming an existence of which this here is but trifling part.

And along with this dread is almost the complementary feeling, the passionate longing to once more have communion with the dear ones taken from us. And with some to have this desire is to be already more than half convinced of its possibility; and no

great evidence is required to satisfy them that their desires will be accomplished. The wish is father to the thought. And we always feel warmly to the bearer of good tidings, whilst most unreasonably we always have the opposite feeling to those who tell us ill news. The faithful friend who gives unpleasant advice is in the same category. Our gratitude is not proportionate to his disinterestedness. A mutual admiration society is generally a fool's paradise, but still it is a paradise, even if a fool's. It takes but little evidence to satisfy those already convinced. Thus in the end reason plays little or no part in our views on these matters. Our feelings are the dominating factors of the situation. Belief and feeling are almost interchangeable terms. Hence the difference between science and theology—the difference there always is between the speculative, the imaginative, and the practical. All these are general principles common to human nature now and always; and it is these we have to consider when we would try and get into the mind, so to say, of an age that is past.

86. And here another fact we note, that around every belief, in some form or other, ritual or ceremonial has grown up which generally survives long after the original belief has passed away. Habits come first, their justification afterwards. The original justification wanting, a new one is easily found. When at last there comes too great divergence between current thought and ancient practices, especially when accompanied by undesirable conduct, a revulsion takes place, the whole is challenged, with the result that much good as well as much evil is rooted up in the consequent ruin. When any religion ossifies into form and ceases to be a living force in life this danger always confronts it. It will no more be saved by the plainness of its service than by the magnificence of its ritual. The same fate awaits them both. And life present, and its outward habiliments are not all important. And this is particularly the case with Christ's teaching. Impressed on old beliefs, we must

not be surprised that many an outward observance of their past still persists as an integral part of the present organized religion. This is and always has been the history of change of thought, not in religion alone but in every department of life. For example: it is often asked how it is that so much of the Catholic ceremonial should find correspondence in the similar observances of the Buddhist religion. Probably it is a matter for as much surprise that such ceremonial should ever have been in conjunction with Buddha's teaching itself. The reason is the same in both cases. In both the teaching was superimposed on existing religions, with their established ceremonial, and which persisted, notwithstanding any change in thought. We know how the first Catholic missionaries in China came across the priests of Buddha and were confounded when they found them tonsured, using rosaries, praying in an unknown tongue, kneeling before images, as well as in their manner of chanting prayers and in their use of incense and candles; and more than all in their reverence of the image of a virgin "Queen of Heaven" who had an infant in her arms and held a cross. So Abbé Huc tells us that "the cross, the mitre, the dalmatics which the grand lamas wear on their journeys or when they are performing some ceremony out of the temple, the service with the double choirs, the psalmody, the exorcisms, the censer suspended from five chains, the benedictions given by the lamas by extending the right hand over the heads of the faithful, the chaplet, ecclesiastical celibacy, religious retirement, the worship of the saints, the fasts, the processions, the litanies, the holy water—all these are analogies between the Buddhists and ourselves." And to complete the resemblance, in Thibet is a Dalai Lama, a sort of Buddhistic Pope. And in essentials, most remarkable of all is the mutual veneration of relics—a veneration, certainly amongst the ignorant, almost amounting to worship. The origin of such belief is readily traceable to those feelings as to death into which we have just inquired. Our dead

having left their body still linger around it in spirit. No one, not the most callous or most logical, goes into the room of the newly dead feeling he is but in presence of inorganic matter. And we travel with the dead when we take the body to its last home. Together they leave the house and only so leave it. We follow it to its grave, we visit its grave, for its once spirit still is there. Any belief to the contrary is a forced or an educated one; and unreasoning feeling far outweighs most reasoned conclusions. And logic, never wanting in such matters, easily demonstrated that such spirit, lingering by its body, would equally be found by any portion of its body, or—this wanting—by any article with which in life it was particularly associated. And we know how this idea swept the ancient world, and how much most of its mysteries was worship of some god or hero whose particular presence in some particular place had been thus secured. And the Buddhists, inheriting the idea, probably from a still older cult, equally made it an integral part of their religion. Wherever the spirit of Buddha, there was most holy place. And like all other spirits, he especially hovered round his earthly remains. These had long crumbled into dust; but amongst the treasures of their religion there would seem to have been actually preserved one of his teeth, a left collar bone, and a bone of the thorax. These have been most magnificently enshrined in nests of marvellous gold and silver boxes, and—kept in topes or towers—are the centres of devotion of the devout Buddhist of every land.

That such ceremonial could be part of the Buddhist religion—absolutely foreign to the spirit of his teaching—proves how forms will persist. What seems to happen is that new teaching is mostly addition, first scouted, then heard, and at last adopted, with old thought only gradually shed. Probably no one would be more amazed than Buddha himself, if he were to return to life and find himself the centre of worship, and one of his teeth regarded as a treasure without

price. And in the recrudescence of so much of this ritual in the Christian Church we have evidence how widespread Christ's teaching must have been amongst the Buddhists of the past. We know they had their colony in Alexandria, so much the centre of the new faith; and it is not in any way a matter of surprise that they also were captivated by His thought. They might well see in Christ another incarnation, not of Buddha as a human being—a low and poor view of their ideas of incarnation—but of the true Buddha; of the divine spirit pervading Buddha, a spirit which found expression in his teaching, and to which teaching Christ gave a fuller and deeper meaning. Some have argued that the presence of so much Buddha-thought in the teaching of Christ, so much Buddhist ceremonial in the practices of the Church, were proof that Christianity was but an off-shoot of Buddhism, in which even Christ Himself was not altogether an essential. But this is not consonant with experience, nor in accord with the way in which new religions have usually spread amongst mankind. That Christ should have been accepted by Buddhists, who at the same time retained so much of their old beliefs as was not inconsistent with His teaching, is in accord with experience, and what we might expect. But the reverse verges on the impossible. And Christ's teaching was not Buddha's teaching. Christ taught God our Father, whilst Buddha preached but a great negation. It was joyousness in life that Christ sought to bring mankind.

87. And exactly as we find survival of Buddhist and pre-Buddhist thought and practices, so we shall find survival of other general faiths and practices of those days. The all-distinctive feature of Christ was His intense love of man. Love as the mainspring of life differentiated His teaching from all other teaching, and apart from this it is difficult to find any dogma, ceremonial, practice, or belief that is now part of the Christian religion, which is not to be found in some then co-existing or pre-existing faith. In fact we find a very

fair guide to the spread of His teaching in the prominence given to any particular thought in the resulting organized church. We have already touched upon the part played by Judaism in the development of the new religion. We see its influence but without observing any general rapprochement between Jew and Gentile thought, still less between Jew and Gentile race. And that from the first there was this strong hostile feeling to the Jews is obvious from the very gospels themselves. The facts on which these were based were obviously collected and edited by those far from sympathetic with Judaistic thought in its entirety. How a Greek must have delighted in Christ's denunciation of his old Jew enemy the Scribe and Pharisee, and in His attitude to things in which the Jew found chiefest pride. His Sabbath: that it was making a fetish of the Sabbath which Christ condemned, in common with all fetishes, might be a fact, but He condemned it. Then His associates, the outcasts of every self-respecting son of Israel—the publicans and sinners with whom He sups; the woman of Samaria with whom He talks; the Mary Magdalene in whom He finds pleasure; the woman taken in adultery whom He will not condemn; the very pariahs of society, but for whom His great heart has room, and to whom His great love extends. That his teaching is a teaching of love, a teaching of hope, of promise, and of welcome to the broken and fallen by the way, what of that to them so long as it was in condemnation of these self-satisfied arrogants. And the Greeks themselves: that the plain, simple teaching of Christ appealed to their many wrangling, quarrelsome philosophers; that many disciples were found amongst them is evident from the metaphysical cast of thought associated with it and the prominence given to their Platonic conception of the Deity. This, after much bloody fighting, was at last established as the only true faith that would ensure salvation. In turn it had been taken from the Egyptians, who delighted in visioning "The Great Unknown" in his attributes, especially in threes. The triad of Thebes

was Amon-Ra, Athor, and Chonso, or father, mother, and son. In Nubia it was Pthah, Amun-Ra, and Horus-Ra. At Phile it was Osiris, Isis, and Horus. There were other combinations, and it would seem that the attributes of the various divinities were not always regarded as the same. The Phile group is one of the most individualized. Ultimately Horus from the child becomes almost one with Ra himself; but above all our deep interest is in the group picture of Isis the "Mother" with Horus as a child in her arms, where they are seen as merciful deities who would save their suppliants from Osiris, the stern judge of departed spirits. In them we already mark reaction from the conception of God as a God of terrors alone. Thus viewed, their worship became extremely general in the days of Augustus; and Juvenal tells us that the cult spread to Italy, and that the artists of Rome almost lived by painting the goddess Isis, the Madonna of Egypt. We have already noticed how the Buddhist had a somewhat similar duality, and, in fact, mother and child is a concept that is so beautiful that it always must appeal to human nature in one form or another. Even the Comptists in their most up-to-date creed have found for it a place; and that it survived with those who saw in Christ the very spirit of the Isis and Horus, already the deities of their adoration, is only what we should expect. From Plutarch we learn that the Egyptians worshipped Osiris, Isis, and Horus under the form of the triangle. Everything perfect was in threes. In symbolism they would find substitute for words. In vain, they can rise no higher than their own thought, the fount of their own minds. And then we have schools which, after postulating—together most correctly—that the infinite is beyond the comprehension of the finite, proceed to stultify their most admirable premises by laying down with metes and bounds what the infinite really is. For the impossible they have achieved the absurd.

88. Probably it is through Alexandria that we must

trace the influence of Egypt on the new religion. Maybe it had already tinged with its own colouring the numerous cults and philosophies found there, as witness the correspondence between its thought and the Buddhist's in the common worship of mother and child. But that missionaries of Christ's teaching found ready hearing amongst those holding these views, is once more proved by the striking prominence given to them in the fuller development of the Christian Church. We have already observed the large part which the Day of Judgment played in the Egyptian religious life; and this certainly seems to have extended to the doctrine of the Atonement. Apparently this latter we get through the Jews, but they certainly would have found it in the Egyptian teaching. The Jewish ritual, given in considerable detail in Leviticus, shows great correspondence with that of the older religion. But amongst the Jews it was more or less an isolated doctrine; with the Egyptian it was part of one connected whole. With him, from the day of his birth to the day of his death, life was one continued preparation for the Day of Judgment. And it was this idea which gave to life itself a meaning and reality wanting in other philosophies. Our future existence was all in all: anything done here was of importance only so far as it might affect that future. Then came the supreme moment when eternal woe and eternal joy were in the balance. Which way would the scales sink? Hence, all-important that any deed which might depress the balances should be disposed of before that awful day of hearing before Osiris, so inexorably just. Hence the all-essential of atonement by sacrifice, that a soul might plead that its sins had already been blotted out. Positive virtues were to be relied on, but it was dangerous for evil deeds to be recalled. And all in keeping with this doctrine in its entirety was the intercession by Isis and Horus, which we have already considered. But as we have seen, the Deity did not await the Day of Judgment to alone visit his wrath on those making failure of duty. In

this world woe and desolation overwhelmed the nation remiss in their offerings. And arguing backwards—disaster present—and in every age it has been the same, and the hierarchies have thundered that it has been because their ministrations have been disregarded. In the Old Testament the priest is always far more implacable than the civil magistrate; it is the priest commands extermination; and so in every land. And in such times propitiation of the deity is far from limited to mere animals. We count nothing of the sacrifice of foes and captives. Any excuse served—religion included—for glutting one's vengeance; and if a few slaves and criminals were thrown in as well, what matter? We have observed the vile reason advanced by Caiaphas for the death of Christ, and he was but conforming to a world-wide sentiment, epitome of a world's conception of its God. And danger still pressing, demand for sacrifice increases in maddening ratio. We remember the holocausts offered up by the Romans when Hannibal was at their gates. And in the awful end of Carthage we see it in its full fury—a horrible nightmare which made life past bearing. And their god had to be propitiated, and with a smile. To turn away his wrath they threw themselves and all dearest to them into the devouring flames of his altar. Nothing was too precious to offer, until we even see the proud, passionate, demented, frenzied mother throw into the raging furnace her own dearest, loved first-born. The Roman, with the sanctimonious of all ages, professed to be horror-struck at such self-renunciation. For himself, he severely limited himself to the immolation of those he hated; and it was well within the Christian era before human sacrifice came to an end in his empire.

That Christianity has delivered mankind from such bondage is not the least of its triumphs, nor the smallest blessing that it has conferred on a mentally enslaved world.

89. It is a commonly received *mot* that Christianity did not capture paganism until Christianity had itself

become pagan. Not an item in the one but found origin or parallel in the other. Note our very days, our festivals, our celebrations, saints, etc. So the surface show. Yet no fact is more undoubted than that Christianity never was paganism. The one stone so assiduously thrown at Christianity by the Nietzsche school shows how altogether Christianity never was paganism. It is the intense selfishness of Christianity it hates. Such its profession. The one all-concern of the believer is to save his own soul. Kind he might be; generous; given to good deeds; but all to work out his own salvation. Grant it all. Better a man should be disinterested for any reason than not at all; but such selfishness is paganism, not Christianity. The pagan world was very much concerned about the saving of one's soul. Woe the Egyptian when the scales sank low with evil done; woe the Greek, reckoning with Pluto unbalanced; woe the Josephus; woe the Jew without credit on that day! But this is no teaching of Christ. His "Father" has only abounding love for every child. Maybe He asks his love in return, but given or no, He knows no change. And given, and love for his fellow man will follow; and as for works, they will take care of themselves. And the Christian does not do good works to-day, as Nietzsche will have it, to save his soul, but because this love is his. To save one's soul may wring coppers out of human nature. Love will bring everything—gold, jewels, children, life itself, as offering—unconscious offering—to its God.

Thus creedless Christianity in its simplicity. With its other beliefs are not necessarily inconsistent; but if it be wanting, what the form, the ritual, the ceremonial that can take its place?

90. Thus we observe how entirely out of sympathy was Christ's teaching with the then prevailing belief. And this gives us clue as to how it fascinated the individual. He came to bring an enslaved world freedom and joy. And here transcendent feature of His teaching—His truly glad tidings are for every race and

every man alike. All are included, slave as well as free, aboriginal as well as conquering race. Where else such all-embracing toleration? Mysteries and religions were exclusive in those days. Men were not all prepared to meet at a common altar. The Jew was not the only superior person. Christ alone is the one universalist. And a passing thought: If the teacher be not found in Christ, where is he to be found? Chance platitudes here and there are no sufficient solution. This is the problem those have to solve—and they are good men and learned men—who see no historical Christ. Whence the work, the master-workman never existent? And non-existent, who the conceiver of so marvellous a creation? Nowhere in lore or legend do we find such teaching. The marvel is not to be found in the wonders attributed to Him, and common to every cult of the time, but that so infinitely outside His environment He could see deep into the heart of every man, and in an age of slavery, illusions, and shams, could preach realities, freedom, and truth. The man who conceived such thought would be as difficult to place and establish. Christ is the commanding figure of that past, and we can imagine no such past with Him wanting in it. Woman equal of man? In Christ she finds her liberty and rights. The slave, of less value than cattle, with his master may now join in the same worship. But it is in Christ alone he finds his right. With Christ no man so mean as to be beneath His notice; no man so great as to be above His teaching. His freedom was for one and all—for those their iron fetters galled, for those who hugged their golden chains. It was not that Christ came as setter aside of established rule. Freedom He confers, but it is freedom from within, freedom from the trammels of superstition, freedom from folly. Christ realized that for happiness there must be law and order. The worst law is better than no law. We never find His teaching in antagonism to ordered government. And so His apostles. We have the extreme instance of Onesimus,

an escaped slave, whom Paul bids return to his master. Christ will not be trapped with the vexed question of the tribute money, but we are to render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's. It was altogether a higher freedom He would bring, freedom of the individual soul. It was against forms and observances, posing and pretending, that He fulminated—not against a necessary rule. Jew and Gentile alike were slave to outward observances, and He knew the misery of it all. We all must have our shibboleth to mark off the elect. And it cannot be said, Off to the brook with him! Not a second's hesitation. And Christ will have no elect. The worship of the Father was doing His will, and He never left in doubt what that will was. It was not praying, nor preaching, nor fasting, and talking, but doing—doing, with love the mainspring and driving force to make it effectual. And that His kingdom spread was that His early disciples did do His will—a very plainly indicated will—that men should live straight, moral, simple, joyous, unselfish lives. Thus they bore witness to the power within them, the power which knew no law. The slave no longer stole, the master no more was merciless, the maid no longer frail, the youth no longer false; and in a mutual respect was the safety of all. And the domestic life bore witness to the change. Husband and wife were one in their Lord, and honest toil was the rule of life, and in their moderation they commanded the respect of their fellow man. Beautiful talk the world has always been flooded with; it was in their lives they pointed to Christ. And it was their lives that first made a world wondering ask, What manner of teaching was it that inspired such acts? And the same beautiful lives have kept Christ's torch burning through the ages; and as long as they exist we need never fear for His kingdom in this world.

91. And this the end of the freedom that Christ taught? To bring joy into life. This duty almost—to find a joy in life—was one of the striking features of Christ's philosophy. And the joy found by His

disciples was one of the things that most impressed a joyless world. To others they seemed to have laid hold of some burning truth, which made them joyful at all times and ever desirous to share their joy. All going well, and they were seen enjoying life to the full. Everything ill, and still the same serenity and peacefulness was theirs. Yes, it was a wonderful thing, this new teaching—its best missionary a happy face. And it attracted. Others would know the secret of it. Whatever happened, they were children of their Father. All would be right. It was no simple fatalism. It was the confidence of the child when with its parents. Some will see in this the ideal of Epicurus. Quite possible; who shall say that such thought played no part in Christ's philosophy. But He was not Epicurus. He did not teach that joy or happiness was the end of life, the end to be pursued, and the disastrous results of which pursuit He too well knew; but the duty of finding joy in every condition of life, however placed. And more, He taught His disciples how such joy was to be theirs. It was no mystical, mythical, imaginary joy He meant, but the actual joy of actual life. Joy in work, joy in play, joy in feasting, joy in society, joy in children, joy in plenty, joy in wine, joy in the good things God had given man—joy as the worldly man understands joy. It was no long faces that Christ loved. He found no pleasure in the kill-joy. So much was this His attitude that those of His time deemed it necessary to expostulate with Him. Why, they demand, do the disciples of John fast oft and make prayers, and likewise the disciples of the Pharisees, but Thine eat and drink?—and enjoy the cornfields on the Sabbath day, as they angrily pointed out on another occasion. And His reply—imagine one more pungent, more complete repudiation of their lachrymose philosophy—"Can the children of the bride-chamber fast while the bridegroom is with them?" Others might fast and pray, but the bridal party knew neither days nor hours nor seasons, but rejoicing only. Such the Jewish law in

its most meticulous severity. And Christ *our* bridegroom ever with us, our lives are to be one long day of rejoicing. For ever are to be ended the fast days, the Sabbaths, the fetishes so dear to the Pharisees of every age. For right into the heart of man Christ looks. "Give Me thy love," He asks; "'tis nothing more I want, with nothing less will I be content." Give Me thy love, and in return I will give thee freedom, perfect freedom from the law, and, above all, from the shibboleths of man which would make of life a burden and of religion a curse. And joy He would have us possess—the joy of the wedding-feast is His illustration—a joy the culmination and realization of every earthly, not mere spiritual, desire. And He would have His disciples communicate their joy. Thus He would have His kingdom spread; in the radiance of their faces He would have them tell the prize which they have made their own.

And if, in addition to thus finding joy in our own life we can also bring a little joy into that of another we go far to justify our own existence.

Nor is this limited to the individual. It is a national, a universal truth as well. Woe to the man or nation who thinks to live to self alone.

92. And with every confidence Paul takes up the message of his Master. It is freedom, perfect freedom, freedom from the law in its entirety, that Christ came to bring mankind. And the result? What of a society with no law, no sanction, no authority? What the result? And in his magnificent letter to the Galatians he works out the answer to his own query. Perfect liberty knoweth no law; and result? Beautiful lives are the result. This the thesis he so grandly elaborates. Christ has made us free, we are under no law whatever; every command has been swept away, every form and every ceremonial—which for the moment was identified with the burning question of circumcision. In the eye of the Jew disciple, Christ was but an addition to Judaism. To accept Christ in His fulness, all other articles of Judaism had to be also

accepted. It was practically the attitude of every disciple of other faiths as well. The Buddhist disciple would have the convert also accept the ordinary details of the Buddhist faith. So the Greek; so the Egyptian. But for the moment it is Jewish thought that is in the ascendancy, and it would impose itself on all alike. And circumcision was made the battleground, exactly as when the Idumaeans would join the old Jewish faith. It was the all-essential fetish of Judaism. It was their shibboleth, and it was to be the test of membership with Christ Himself. And Paul brushes it and every test aside. He will have no shibboleths. With Christ he abominates them and every other fetish of belief. And what did liberty like this mean? No such liberty had before been known. Perhaps for one short moment a Greek philosophy had striven to free man's mind; but the attempt had hardly made itself patent before it was still-born in a world with which it was out of sympathy. And this higher liberty of Paul? Liberty run riot. And then the beautiful conclusion: we are free in Christ; we have His spirit in us, and so why fear that our great liberty will be abused? His Spirit in us, and His works will abound. And what such works? Attending the synagogue? Paying of tithes? Making of prayers? Giving of alms? Keeping the Sabbath?—all duties dear to the theological mind. No, these do not happen to be mentioned, not even inferentially. "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace—wonderful triad of happiness—longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against such there is no law."

And some of us are concerned that these writings have not come down to us exactly as we were once taught to believe. And what more do we ask than their own very enunciation in support of their message? What criticism can possibly affect such mighty words as these? What matter the human agency by which they have come to us? They have come. What matter if this epistle never was written by Paul? What if never

seen by him? What if but echo of his teaching? What if stratification is marked on every page of his epistle? What if we see in it doctrinal thought in varying stages? All of no consequence. The word speaks for itself; in itself finds its authority and power.

93. And thus the logical conclusion of Christ's teaching. He is no ascetic. In set terms He preaches no doctrine of self-sacrifice; but it follows as a simple, inevitable result. **Man himself is changed.** He has made choice of a higher good. He has a new table of values. He has found joy; the peace of God which passeth all understanding is his; and it proves impossible for him not to communicate his happiness. Acts to others, maybe last word in self-renunciation, come to him as a matter of course. Life is different to him: he even finds his supreme bliss in that of another. He would be the last to admit that he has made any sacrifice of self. It was only his own pleasure he sought. It is but an accident that such pleasure is coincident with the pleasure of another. Or still, if pressed, he will point out that he has only taken a long shot. It was his own happiness he sought, but he had been taught by a higher wisdom that happiness is not always the guerdon of those who make it their direct pursuit. How impossibly sentimental! would be our comment, but for the fact that we have actually known such saints. And with such ideal, how safe the perfect liberty that is in Christ. And more, how low amongst us to-day the standard required by the law, to the life led by many a most ordinary citizen. A sense of duty is far more exigent than any statute. And how vain any requirement of the law. Circumstances change every hour. The very function of life is adapting itself to changing conditions; but love the mainspring of action, and man will not wander far from the way. And for us to judge one another is impertinence itself. Who are we to sit in judgment on another? If a man do all

that the law requires of him, discharge his duty as a citizen, it is officiousness for us unasked to say what further he should do. Duty done as between man and man, more is solely a matter between him and his God. The last form of righteousness Christ ever countenanced was righteousness for other people. But how of these who we know have no such love of God? Shall not the enlightened illumine the unenlightened? Yes, when my eating my dinner can satisfy your hunger. And who is the enlightened? Some self-satisfied observer of forms? It is little that the spread of God's kingdom owes to such. As far as man's part in such spread has been concerned, it has been mostly found in self-sacrifice alone. Not that self-sacrifice was part of such teaching, only the inevitable result. Far from the thought of Christ in His teaching to lessen any joy of man, still more to suggest that in any possible way unhappiness can in itself be a good. Here He absolutely parts company with the ascetic, pagan, Buddhist, or savage who would see in suffering itself anything desirable or pleasing to an All-Father. That one may have to give up the pleasure of the moment for the higher pleasure to come may be the very necessary training of us all; but our end is a fuller happiness, not a lesser one. Probably all the higher pleasures of life will be found in giving up to-day for the sake of tomorrow. And certainly it seems a law of life that to those thus acting the world belongs. There is little good apart from self-denial in some form or another. Some make sacrifice for worthy, some for unworthy objects; but realization depends on such sacrifice. And if for unworthy objects, disillusion in the end is very real. On the other hand, sacrifice to bring another happiness is to find one's own assured. Thus the teaching of our great Master, but—but somehow we are not quite sure—anyway, not as yet. As an academic proposition, a philosophy, it has our approval; as a working proposition, well. . . . There we will leave it.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE IDEAL ESTABLISHED.

¶ 94. FROM the god of the pagan—a god of terror, a god to be appeased—to the God "Our Father," as shown us by Christ, is a far cry. We are being ever reminded of the appalling history of the Church, of the passions and ambitions of its hierarchs, but here for a moment do let us glance at some undoubted work which it has done. After all, it is the world that makes its priests, and not the priests their world. More or less as other men they reflect their age, and are little better or worse than their contemporaries. No doubt they have found power and profit in this conception of a deity to be placated, but it is a little extreme to make them wholly responsible for the notion. The origin of it has to be sought in many social conditions, and whilst it has acted and reacted on them, it has been only gradually that a world, Christian and pagan alike, has been weaned from the horrors of this belief. And to help in this transition has been the work of the Church. It has been much facilitated by the teaching that in the death of Christ, supreme evidence of the love of God, the one all-sufficient sacrifice has been made and all indebtedness of man been blotted out. But as years have passed and the story has sunk into a dim past the human mind, still afraid in its own terrors, wants re-assurance and assurance yet again that its debt is paid. And in the repeated service of the mass is such assurance found. And the human mind was the more ready to accept it in all its fulness as in it it found correspondence with ritual well established as part of pagan thought. In their mysteries, obsessed with the same fears, the devotees of many a current cult found peace and rest, and in oneness with the deity of their adoration, assurance was made doubly sure. And of these the best and purest and most sacred were the Eleusinian mysteries which subsisted well into the

Christian era, and of which the underlying thought was found in the beautiful hymn to Demeter and Ceres, attributed to Homer. And the goddess "went to the law-administering kings . . . and showed them the performance of her sacred rite and appointed her hallowed orgies for all . . . which it is in no wise lawful either to neglect, or to inquire into, or mention; for a mighty reverence of the god restrains the voice. Blest is he of mortal men who has beheld these; for he who is initiated, and he who partakes not in these rites, have by no means the same fortune although dead beneath the murky darkness." We have observed how intense were these old pagan religions, a worship not of idols—mere aids to contemplation—but of the potencies behind them. Our interest in these particular Eleusinian mysteries is the greater because once more they are evidence of how far the teaching of Christ had spread. Once more we find in them a ceremonial persisting which otherwise it would be somewhat difficult to account for.

But even now, with so much progress made, mankind is not to be freed from the bondage of his past. The same terror revived in other guise is still to palsy the mind with fear of that awakening. God is our Father. True! But God can be an offended father; and though a God of love, above all God is just. And He has provided means of grace, and if wilfully put on one side. . . . There is little difference in the schools of those days. The Reformation was very much of a political movement. No doubt it was given impulse by abuses then too prevalent in the Church, and it also largely connoted that puritan element in mankind which marked off the Jewish reformer from the rest of his world; but in essentials of belief it showed no great advance. God was still a God who could be offended—and offended, and woe, eternal woe the unhappy offender! With the Church they have the means of grace, and as to what these are, they are equally infallible. Infallibility has been the badge of every creed. Each with the same assurance cries:

This way alone to salvation—all other roads lead to hell. And in their hells they vied with those of the pagan himself. And in the "justice of God" was to be submerged the teaching of Christ, and to be revived all the horrors of those ancient terrible beliefs. But the fatherhood of God was too precious an idea to be lightly surrendered, and a world out of touch with its theology has made it the rock of its faith. God is all just. And so undoubtedly just that He will never give the child of His own making—the child which He loves—a free will to elect its own damnation. The simply not to have known Christ in this world is in itself all-sufficient punishment for the worst of sinners. It is no dread judge His child has to meet. It is no awful form demands his presence. He giveth His beloved sleep—a sleep that is to rejoice in a brighter and more joyous awakening than any here known. A paean of joy is his, the child of his Father. It is no wail of fear, no cry of horrible despair. It is his bliss that he had known his Master in this life. Others less fortunate may not even have heard His name. If he tells others of Christ, it is that others may have the present joy that knowledge of Him brings in this world, not to ensure his entry into God's presence in a world to come. In His house are many mansions, and God will have all His children with Him. He cannot do with one absent: rich and poor, high and low, wise and foolish, good and bad, enlightened and ignorant, His infinite love can be satisfied only when one and all are sharers in His joy.

95. Thus through the haze of time, the gloom of ignorance, the darkness of superstition, we see standing out in unique grandeur the figure of this great Master. We note Him the power of our world; we find Him centre of a faith purer, brighter, and better than any yet given to man. In two words He sums it all—"Our Father." As merest philosophy no teaching has brought mankind such increase of happiness as this one all-comprehensive thought. And not merely happiness: that is to be, but happiness that is, happiness in this

very existence here itself. The teaching of Christ has meant added joy to life here—not the joy of the visionary or mystic or emotional, but real old-fashioned joy, joy in actual life itself. It is joy He came to bring mankind. The test of every act is, will it add joy—actual joy—to life itself, the joy of oneself, the joy of those we are with? We are no longer in bondage to shibboleths of either Jewish or pagan world. We have put from us for ever the burdens of the one, the terrors of the other. Perfect freedom is ours. We are children of one Father, and we are under no law. As in that all-beautiful tale of Rudyard Kipling, his exquisite, "Ba, Ba, Black Sheep," we can stamp in the puddles and be naughty if we like. In that sweet mother we have prototype of our Father as shown us by our Lord. He is no "Auntie Rosa," keeping record of our sins. To her we may be "child of the devil," "inheritor of undying flame"; but to Him we are the children, the dear children of His own making. And He delights in our happiness, though, like many an earthly father He knows the added joy when, as children, we are left to work out our little problems for ourselves. And what if, in the working out, we muddle and wander, and *prodigal*, sink still deeper in the mire? That most human of allegories has more than human application. He leaves us to go our own little way, but His infinite love is ever by to make sure that we shall never plunge in everlasting ruin. But a religion without law; without sanction; without dogma; without rites, or days, or ceremonies; creedless, formless—what can such religion be to man? Everything! All in all. And the Father's will? He will do it, not because he is in awe, but because He is his Father, and His heart is full of love. And Christ came to show us the Father. Thus the philosophy He taught.

96. Thus we have tried, with all sympathetic appreciation, to make survey of this new philosophy. It is entirely independent of our view of the great Teacher Himself. It speaks for itself. It has been

unfolded with most exquisite beauty of thought, of illustration, and of expression. It touches chords in our existence which music alone can otherwise set vibrating. So lovely is it that it is difficult to approach it in the calm matter-of-fact spirit of the pure scientific inquiry. One loves to linger over some of its phrases as mere sounds of supreme loveliness. They never weary, they never grow commonplace. Mark the rhythm in that catalogue of Christian virtues we have just instanced as the fruit of the Spirit. So easy its melodious simplicity, we do not realize the infinite difficulties of expression which it has surmounted. No doubt we Anglo-Saxons owe no little to the dress or translation in which we have our Bible, and in which, with our Shakespeare, is incarnation of the poetry of the race. Thus one cannot study it without being swept away by it, when it becomes difficult to view its teaching in the matter-of-fact way one otherwise should do. But however approached, we find ourselves leagues away from the old notion of a God of terrors. And in the thought "Our Father," has been developed the simplest, grandest, and most comprehensible ethical system of which the world has to tell. But—how these "buts" ever trouble us poor humans—but, is it according to experience?

And we cast our eye over the past. We note this beautiful philosophy, but we also find three other views of the deity maintaining their hold on man. Generalized, we see them as those of the pagan, the Jew, and the intelligent savage. The pagan in his hypnotic religions saw his god as a god to propitiated. Purification made, rites performed, sacrifice offered, all would be well. For the initiate in this world would be communion and oneness with the deity of his worship and for all, in the future an eternity of Elysium and bliss. But his deity neglected, and the terrors of Tartarus were multiplied, and it was woe the forgetful and unbelieving. And we have the "God of Righteousness" of the Jews. Duly served, and in this world was found the reward. And the rewards

wanting, and what further evidence of unworthiness? "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" "Thou wast altogether born in sin, and dost Thou teach us?" truculently demanded the Pharisees, "and they cast Him out" of the synagogue. And then we have the notion of the intelligent savage of "The Great Spirit," so very far away that he has no interest in anything so minute as himself. And each of these schools we find with its own special justification. The pagan certainly makes powerful appeal to one side of experience. The same problems troubled him as still trouble us. Why sin? Why suffering? Apart from suffering traceable by any ingenuity to man himself, there is in nature itself suffering—to the pagan unnecessary suffering, e.g. witness a cat play with a mouse; a badger track a rabbit; a crow feed on an Australian sheep; etc., etc., to say nothing of the terrible suffering we sometimes find amongst the sweetest and most perfect of some of God's human creations amongst ourselves. And if by parallel the pagan argues that God is a God who must be appeased, where find flaw in his logic. And with the Jew, much as Christ condemned the want of charity in that particular case, must we not confess that a child does ever suffer for the sins of its parents. And so the philosophy of the savage. It probably is the most logical of all. At best we can but reply with question: Is not the very attribute of infinity, infinite appreciation even of the infinitely little? But as a philosophy these difficulties do not exist. As a philosophy we simply ask how, through the ages, has it worked itself out. And who will prove dissatisfied? On the other hand, as a religion, we are on entirely different ground. It is in religion we find tie with the infinite, and such questions are not questions of evidence, of argument, of probability, of reason, or of talk, but simply of the one fact—How does God appeal to us as individuals? How He appeals to others is of no moment. If we accept Christ's teaching in all its completeness we shall not be affected by the

fact that other men and other ages have entirely differed. On the other hand, if such be not our thought or experience, what the evidence of thousands of another opinion? Our final court of appeal is experience—our own experience. But that such court can bind no one but ourselves is also the obvious undoubted condition and conclusion. The very strength of our convictions may incline us to quarrel with all who differ with us—such slur is a slight on our intelligence—but therein is error. Others are entitled to similar convictions, to them as infallible. Thus would we answer pagan or Jew or savage; we are in the land of shadow and doubt; argument fails us. Plunged in a metaphysical morass we hopelessly flounder. Logic avails nothing, and it is we have no premises from which to draw conclusions. The finite has not the remotest conception of the infinite, and only the maddened brain imagines that it has. But when we take our little world as we find it, and ask what of this new philosophy in comparison with others taught mankind, and we are on far other ground. In the course of these pages we have seen the pagan thought ever dragging man down and down until much the reflex of the deity be feared. And the Jew, great as was his conception of the deity, was it not yet wanting in fulness and completeness? And we pass to the intelligent savage, but to find that he has ignored the "Great Spirit," only to fill the void with demons, devils, bogies, and every horror of the night. And in him we find tribute to the practical power of Christ's teaching. Taught to find in this same "Great Spirit" the "Our Father" of our Lord, and these nightmares of his past fading in the light of the breaking dawn lose their hold on the imagination and a happiness is his which he had never before known. These are facts. Ever this philosophy has proved one of the uplifting powers of the world. Maybe to some it is no concrete reality; maybe to some it is but one of those empty phrases which sounds well but does not lend itself to analytical examination; but on the

whole it connotes those ideas with which ethical progress has been mostly associated. Progress has never been found in the magnificence of platitude nor man's uplifting in the glories of fine sentiments, but in this simple expression we have a conception which is as practical as it is beautiful. And it is of supreme advantage to any race to have for its ideal a thought, always inspiring, always appealing to the best in humanity, and always slightly in advance of actual conditions.

And it is such a thought that Christ has given to the world.

97. And thus our conclusion. In our analysis of physical science as the determinant in life we were satisfied that in an intelligent selfishness alone was to be found solution of most of the problems which perplex us. And we have more than intelligent selfishness. This philosophy of Christ is no mere philosophy at large; no mere vapourings of magnificent platitude, but a philosophy which finds no little complement in a corresponding conduct. In conjunction with conduct the resultant, the moral momentum is high. May be 'tis pleasing to dream of millenniums and castles in the clouds, but it is its measure as a practical force that is our assurance and our hope. But withal, Christ never intended His philosophy to take the place of patient investigation and hard work. It by no means follows that because a man is filled with love for his fellow that therefore he has deepest insight as to how that fellow in need is best to be helped. The part that Christ's philosophy assigns such love is to bring joy and peace and charity into its immediate surroundings. God never commissioned any of us to remake His world, but He has called upon us to make as bright and beautiful* and as cheerful as we can the little world in which we actually move. And thus—an idea with correspondence in practice—the brilliancy of the scout movement. And how as a

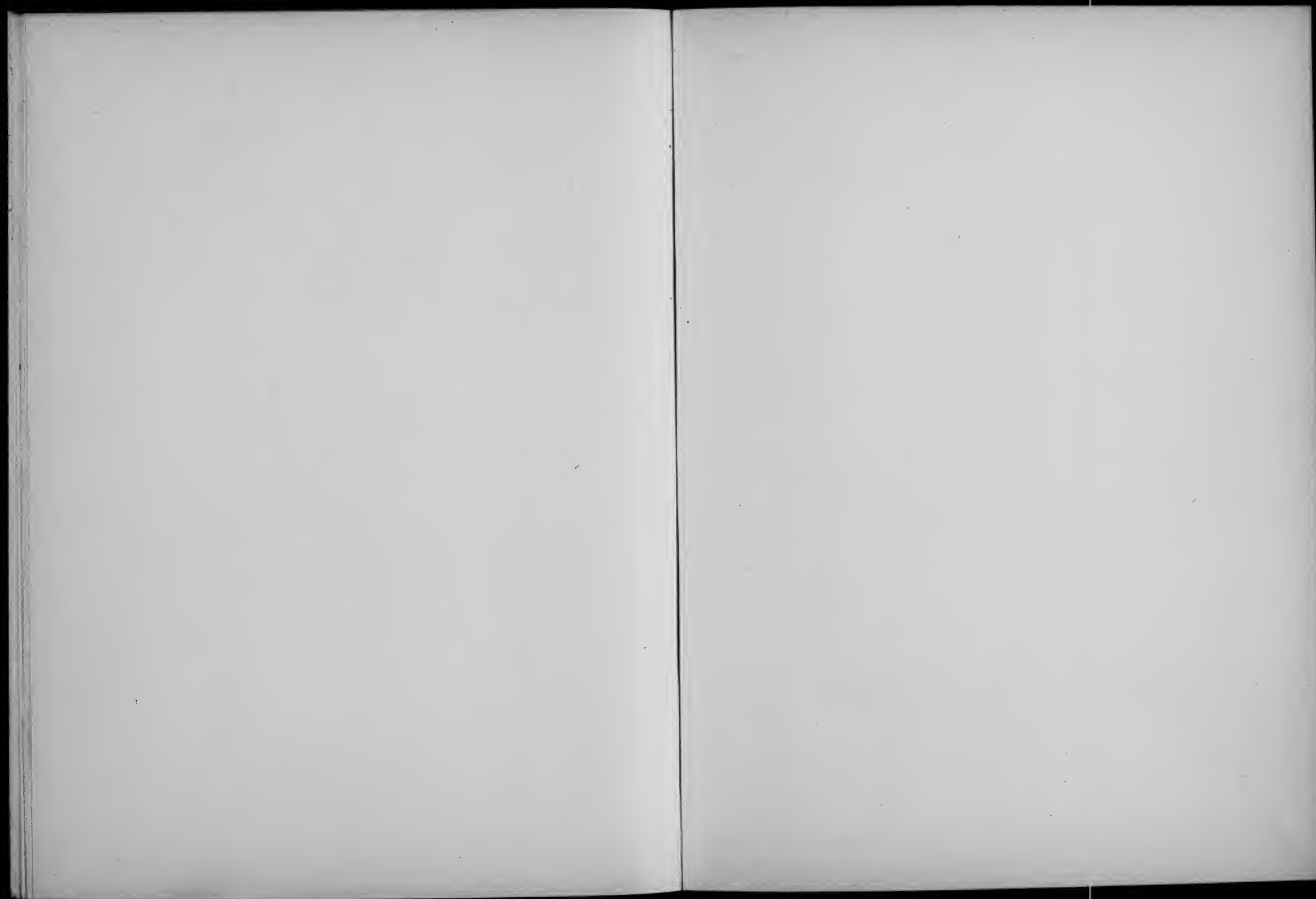
*In our great cities it is the "ugliness of life" which is so depressing. With thanks to J— S— for the phrase.

nation are we to enter into our kingdom? By application in the political world of the same methods which in the physical world have made science so triumphant. The one key of its success has been the untiring examination of the unit in all its aspects. And our Common Law owes its pre-eminent sanity to the same cause. In one small case we have our keenest intellects and our profoundest thinkers trying to do justice—justice not merely involving law alone, or facts alone, but justice where both are taken into fullest consideration. And the result? A body of decisions which is priceless to the nation and the empire. And our want is a similar body of decisions on questions more purely social. We want *ad hoc* discussion. If nothing else, it keeps argument to the point and prevents rambling and irrelevant debate. It is in the investigation of the unit and in the tabulation of innumerable results that we are going to determine the needs of the nation. It is largely preached that what alone is wanted to solve our economic problems is a little more love. On the contrary, there is abundance of love in our midst to solve every problem, if so it were to be solved. Rather, what is needed is a little more intelligence in first determining what our problems actually are. Let us do this, and it is extremely probable that love or no love an intelligent selfishness would insist on their solution. The pressing question in the economic world to-day is, what is fair pay? This is no question of love, but a question of intricate calculations and above all a question to be determined only in the unit. And let us have a few decisions of what is fair play in the unit, and we shall at last be on the road and well on our way to securing fair pay in the mass.

Where unfairness is alleged, let an issue be settled and decided, and a few such cases and our tangles will begin to unravel themselves. But general charges of unfairness take us nowhere. General charges and attempts, by violent change, to obtain fairness in the mass, have in their failures proved disastrous and in

their success have spelt the dissolution of society. And the reason finds roots deep in human nature itself. Whatever our social order, human nature remains much about the same. There are two factors in life which will never be ignored. The world, be its social construction what it may, belongs to him who will sacrifice to-day for the sake of to-morrow. And between prevision and imprevision is war eternal. And then, whatever the order ruling, the chief seats in the synagogue will ever be in demand. The way thither, whether *via* money or brains or assertiveness or family, is immaterial. The seat is the thing, and is the thing whether it takes form and being in cash or importance. And the grievance of many a one against society in any form is that the seat he longs to sit in is otherwise filled. Craving for a superior seat has whet many a desire for reform. But so pronounced are the advantages to be secured by even intelligent selfishness that notwithstanding all this the promise of the future is fairness itself. For the moment our psychical development hardly seems to have kept pace with that of life in other phases. Our mentality is still much that of a physical world that is past. One bone for two dogs, the then law of life; thanks to the glories of science, now two bones, three bones for every beast. To-day our problem is: abundance, how not to abuse it. To-day, the only limit to a nation's prosperity is its own industry and its own habits. As for war, it is madness—in theory. Mentality unchanged—practically—a greater madness is to ignore its possibility. Race consciousness is not changed in a generation, nor do feuds cease because reasonable excuse for quarrel no longer exists. The world has still to be policed. Burglary has never been ended by the self-denying ordinance of the burglar. War is a madness, but as we have no assurance of universal sanity we must always be prepared for its being forced upon us. And this is the disturbing idea, the discordant note in these times. A philosophy of peace is not in itself sufficient. Actualities have also to be taken into account.

But this need not unduly depress or discourage us. Rather, when we think of things as they are and shudder with thought of what they might have been, we can truly, with St. Paul, thank God and take courage. Whatever the past ten years have failed to realize, one thing they have established: the race is sound. Our children are better than their fathers. Then for what more can we ask or hope? With ourselves in particular, years have sped away; our world is fading in the past, but those after us shall look upon a day of which we have been allowed only to dream.



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